Egyptian Iconography on Syro-Palestinian Cylinder Seals of the Middle Bronze Age

Teissier, Beatrice

Abstract: This book seeks to contribute to the history of Syria-Levant in the Middle Bronze Age by assessing Egyptian "influence" and Syro-Levantine perceptions of Egypt through an analysis of the use of Egyptian imagery in Syro-Levantine cylinder seal iconography. This includes an evaluation of the nature and composition of Syrian glyptic as a whole. The book concludes that Egyptian imagery, although inspirational, owed nothing to Egyptian political or religious influence in Syria. Rather, this imagery was assimilated coherently into an integral Syrian glyptic repertoire, which was an expression of the political stability and cultural autonomy of Syria in the Middle Bronze Age. The smaller cylinder seal evidence from the Lebanon and Palestine also reflects these region' political and cultural status quo: strong Egyptian influence in the Lebanon and an ambivalent situation in Palestine.

Beatrice Teissier

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Beatrice Teissier

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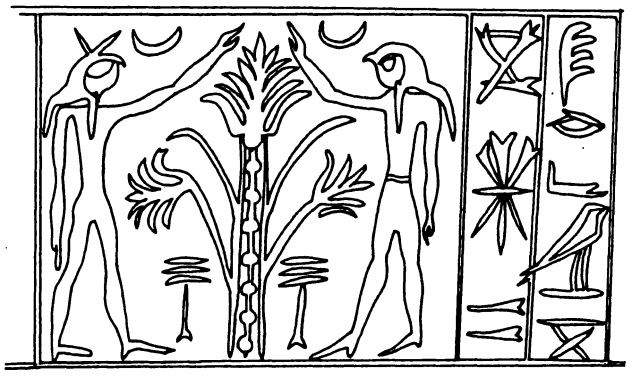

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In memory of my mother

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All errors are mine.

Oxford, October 1995

Beatrice Teissier

ABBREVIATIONS

AAAS	Annales archéologiques arabes syriennes
AEM	Archives Épistolaires de Mari
Aleppo	H. Hammade, revised by L. Hitchcock, *Cylinder seals from the Collections of the Aleppo Museum, Syrian Arab Republic, I. Seals of Unknown Provenience*, BAR International Series 335, 1987
ADAIK	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Kairo
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung
AJ	Antiquaries Journal
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AJBA	Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology
AJSL	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
ASORSS	American Schools of Oriental Research, Supplementary Series
ASSOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
ARM	Archives Royales de Mari
Ar Or	Archiv Orientalni
ARET	Archivi Reali di Ebla Testi
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
Aulock	H. von der Osten, *Altorientalische Siegelsteine der Sammlung Hans Silvius von Aulock*, Uppsala, 1957
Ba Mit	Bagdhader Mitteilungen
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
Berlin	A. Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, Berlin 1940
Bib Mes	Bibliotheca Mesopotamica
Bib Or	Bibliotheca Orientalis
BMB	Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth
BMMA	Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art
BMQ	British Museum Quarterly
BM	British Museum
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale
Brett	H. von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mrs. Agnes Baldwin Brett*, OIP 37, Chicago 1936
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
CANES	E. Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections*, Vol. I, New York, 1948
CGC	Catalogue Général du Caire
Cherkasky	H. Pittman, *Ancient Art in Miniature, Near Eastern Seals from the Collection of Martin and Sarah Cherkasky*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1987
Chiha	C. Doumet, *Sceaux et cylindres orientaux: la collection Chiha*, OBO.SA 9, 1992
DAIK	Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Kairo
ESI	Excavations and Surveys in Israel
FAM	Fine Arts Museum
HÄB	Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge
IAA	Israel Antiquities Authority
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
IMN	Israel Museum News
JARCE	Journal of the American Research Centre in Egypt
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JEOL	Jaarbericht Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap 'Ex Oriente Lux'

JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JPOS	Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society
LÄ	W. Helck, E. Otto & W. Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Wiesbaden
LBAF	Lands of the Bible Archaeological Foundation
Marcopoli	B. Teissier, *Ancient Near Eastern Cylinder Seals from the Marcopoli Collection,* University of California Press, 1984
MARI	Mari. Annales de Recherches Interdisciplinaires
MÄS	Münchner Ägyptologische Studien
MDOG	Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
MFA	Museum of Fine Arts
MIO	Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin, Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung
MMJ	Metropolitan Museum Journal
Moore	G. A. Eisen, *Ancient Oriental and other Seals with a Description of the Collection of Mrs W. H. Moore,* OIP 47, Chicago, 1940
MRAH	Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Bruxelles
NABU	Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires
NBC	Newell Babylonian Collection
Newell	H. von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mrs. Edward T. Newell*, OIP 22, Chicago 1934
OA	Oriens Antiqus
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OBO.SA	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Series Archaeologica
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications, Chicago
Or	Orientalia
QDAP	Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine
RAI	Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale
RdE	Revue d'Egyptologie
ROM	Royal Ontario Museum
Rosen	Rosen Collection
SÄK	Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
Seyrig	Seyrig Collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale
SSEA Journal	Journal for the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities
St. Eb.	Studi Eblaiti
TAVO	Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients
TCL	Textes Cunéiformes du Louvre
TTK	Türk Tarih Kürümu
TO	Textes Ougaritiques
UC	University College, London
UF	Ugarit-Forschungen
VA	see Berlin
VO	Vicino Oriente
WAG	Walters Art Gallery
Yale	B. Buchanan, *Early Near Eastern Seals in the Yale Babylonian Collection*, Yale University Press 1981
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
ZÄS	Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins

PREFACE

The importance of seals for modern research on the cultures of the ancient Near East has never been in doubt. Without them, the surviving pictorial and epigraphic record for the region would be more deleted than it is. In some areas, such as Syria in the first half of the second millennium BC, cylinder seals are the dominant available art form and a rich source of iconography. The high quality of this relatively large body of evidence makes these seals an attractive subject for study, particularly for any investigation of Syrian culture and political life during the Middle Bronze Age.

One of the most striking features of Syrian cylinder seals of the Middle Bronze Age is the presence of Egyptian iconography in their designs. This offers an obvious challenge for analysis, since it is potentially so interesting for the study of political relationships and cultural interaction in the Levant. Two pioneers of glyptic studies in the Levant, Ward (1910) and Frankfort (1939), noted the Egyptianising imagery on Syrian seal designs. Ward attributed this to Egyptian imperialism, and dated his 'Syro-Hittite cylinders of the Egyptian style' to the Late Bronze Age, but acutely suggested that this influence may have extended back to the XIIth Dynasty (Ward 1910: 273). Frankfort considered the Egyptian motifs evident in his first and some of his second group of Syrian seals to be secondary to those developed from Mesopotamian glyptic. He concluded that the motifs were 'confused in true Phoenician fashion' (Frankfort 1939: 252, 256, 258, 265, and 277).

One of the results of my own research has been to show that Egyptian influence is not only more pervasive than that of Mesopotamia in Syrian glyptic, but also that what appears at the outset to be 'confused' in terms of Egyptian iconography makes sense in terms of Syro-Levantine culture. Following Ward and Frankfort, Porada (1948), Buchanan (1966), Safadi (1974) and Collon (1975 and 1986a) have all commented on Egyptian influence on Syrian glyptic as one aspect of Syria's eclectic iconography. More recently, Nagel and Eder (1992) have broached this subject at greater length. Their conclusions, radically different from mine, are based on a review of the Egyptianising glyptic of Alalakh Level VII and selected seals which they distinguish as 'Old Syrian' or 'Lebanese', or a mixture of both, and 'Palestinian', rather than on the whole corpus of Syro-Palestinian seals or on a realistic assessment of Egypt's relations with Syria during the Middle Bronze Age. They argue for strong political and ideological Egyptian influence in Syria and Palestine, manifested principally in the local glyptic, but to a lesser extent in their newly defined Lebanese group (Nagel and Eder 1992: 64–5). According to them, much of Egyptian iconography on Old Syrian glyptic provides '*eine enge Bindung an das ägytische Königsdogma und dessen Kult*' (Nagel and Eder 1992: 57). I hope to be able to demonstrate that the opposite is closer to the truth.

The purpose of this book is twofold. First, it seeks to contribute to both the cultural history of Syria in the Middle Bronze Age and to the development of appropriate methods for the analysis of ancient glyptic imagery. Second, it attempts to assess Egyptian 'influence' and Syro-Levantine perceptions of Egypt through an exploration of the use of Egyptian imagery in Syro-Levantine cylinder seal iconography (Chapters 3 and 5). Inevitably, such a study is closely bound up with the historical and cultural context of the seals (Chapter 1). An evaluation of the nature and composition of Syrian glyptic as a whole and of the autonomy of the art of seal engraving in Middle Bronze Age Syria is the other essential component of such a study, and is a new undertaking in the study of Syrian art (Chapter 4). Unlike more conventional fields of art history, the study of ancient Near Eastern glyptic has no traditional methodology or conceptual approach. This remains in the hands of individual scholars (cf. Digard 1975; Matthews 1990).

The seals are presented according to iconographical criteria set out in Chapter 5, where they are arranged numerically (see Appendix B for references). Seals mentioned in other chapters refer to this order. Typology is discussed in Chapter 6, where the illustrations are arranged typologically and chronologically (Periods I-III).

The Middle Kingdom is usually taken to be the classic period of Egyptian art, though the surviving record is meagre compared to that of the New Kingdom. A corollary of this work has been to question briefly how far examples of Middle Kingdom iconography, still undocumented in Egypt, may be recognised on Syro-Levantine seals (Chapter 6).

1 INTRODUCTION

The assimilation of Egyptian iconography into the Syro-Levantine repertoire of the Middle Bronze Age must be viewed both in the context of interaction in the Levant and what can be surmised about the nature of glyptic workshops in Syria-Levant of the time. This introduction addresses the former without repeating all the well-documented data and arguments about the relationship between Egypt and Syria-Levant during the Middle Bronze Age (e.g. Albright 1954; Ward 1961, 1971, 1979; Stevenson-Smith 1965; Posener 1957; Helck 1971, 1976; Weinstein 1974, 1975, 1992; Giveon 1978; Scandone-Matthiae 1984; Bietak 1991). Rather, it outlines aspects of political and commercial history and their effect on cultural perceptions, while emphasising the scope and nature of the communication of the time: the movements of goods and of people (both attested and hypothetical), languages and scripts.

1.1 POLITICAL BACKGROUND IN SYRIA-LEVANT AND GENERAL CONTACTS WITH EGYPT

Syria

West Syria and coastal Syria were politically autonomous during the Middle Bronze Age. In contrast to Babylon's menace to Mari, for most of this period in west Syria there was no external threat to upset the power of local kingdoms – chief of which were Iamhad, with its capital at Aleppo, and Qatna in central Syria. Internally, the rulers of Mari were instrumental in keeping conditions stable in the middle Euphrates region and further east. After the fight for control of north Syria in the reign of Yahdun-Lim of Mari and skirmishes in the Euphrates area and to the north, early in the reign of Zimri-Lim, and apart from local uprisings against Iamhad and occasional tension between Iamhad and her trading rivals Qatna and Urshu, nothing upset the political *status quo* of the city states and no political vacuum needed to be filled until their demise in *c*. 1600 BC.[1] Sustained trade networks stretching from Iran and Babylonia to Cyprus and Crete, and from Anatolia to Palestine and Egypt, were probably the driving force behind this cohesion. Cultural autonomy, but with regional variations, was the result of this political stability, as was the prestige of local kings, a fundamental aspect of Syria's sense of identity.

Iamhad's influence extended throughout north-west Syria. It included Carchemish and even Emar; possibly Ugarit, although both Ugarit and Emar must have enjoyed special status as maritime and riverine ports respectively; Alalakh, which eventually became a residence for the brother of king Abban of Iamhad until *c*. 1620/1600 BC; and Ebla. After the sack of Mari by Babylon in *c*. 1760 BC, Iamhad probably gained even further political prestige and focus as a trading centre. Qatna was the most important city state in central Syria because it controlled the trade route, via Mari, from Mesopotamia to the Levant. Although they provide us with the richest textual sources of the period, Mari, with other north-east Syrian and north Mesopotamian cities, such as Leilan and Chagar Bazar, are largely outside the scope of this book, for even indirect contact with Egypt in these areas seems to have been minimal.

To date there are no textual sources that give a context to relations between Egypt and Syria during the Middle Bronze Age and the archaeological evidence for it in Syria is open to question. The nature of most of the surviving finds, which are statuary, together with the lack of textual references, could imply that much Middle Kingdom contact with Syria was indirect, through Byblos and Ugarit, and perhaps the result of secondary trade rather than of direct diplomatic exchange. Luxury items from Ebla (see note 4) imply diplomatic exchange, but perhaps with the Levant rather than with Egypt. Current archaeological evidence from Syria points to two key sites with XIIth Dynasty Middle Kingdom material: Ugarit[2] and Qatna.[3] In the XIIIth Dynasty Ebla had strongly

1 The reasons for the demise of the city states in *c*. 1600 BC are not altogether understood, but they include Hittite raids in north Syria and growing Hurrian domination (Na'aman 1994; Bourke 1993).

2 The archaeological context of the Egyptian material from Middle Bronze Ugarit (Ugarit Moyen I–II) is vague and the material is best treated on its own merits. The statuary of Middle Kingdom date is both royal and private. It will only be listed here as a reminder, for this material has been extensively discussed (e.g. Ward 1979; Helck 1976; Scandone-Matthiae 1984). The royal pieces are a sphinx of *Ḥnmt-nfr-ḥḏt*, generally thought to be a daughter of Amenemhet II (Schaeffer 1932: 20: Fig. 13, Pl. XIV: 1; Schmitz 1976: note 4; but see also Ward 1979: 801–2, 806) from UM II and a sphinx of Amenemhet III, found in an LBI context, with other sphinx fragments (Schaeffer 1939: Pl. III: 2; Schaeffer 1962: 223; Ward 1979: 802–3), but plausibly attributable to an earlier level. The most important of the private pieces is a triad of the vizier Senusertankh and his family, dated to the later XIIth Dynasty from an UM II context. A number of other miscellaneous and poorly executed statues and fragments were

Egyptianising luxury items. The excavators believe these to have been Middle Kingdom Egyptian, but they have recently and convincingly been argued to be Levantine;[4] an origin in Bylos would be very plausible. The importance of Ugarit and Qatna as trading centres is attested from the Mari texts. Ebla had a tradition of contacts with Egypt, again probably the result of secondary trade, dating back to the Early Bronze Age or Old Kingdom.[5] Middle Kingdom material from Middle Bronze Age sites elsewhere in Syria is very scant: no significant Egyptian material of Middle Kingdom or IInd Intermediate period date is attested from Alalakh (see Chronology and notes 7 and 8). The most easterly site where Egyptian material (scarabs) has been found in a stratified context is Terqa.[6] The general paucity of this evidence is undoubtedly partly due to the meagre archaeological record from sites such as Hama, Qatna and Ugarit, while the most important centre of the period, Aleppo, remains unexcavated.[7] There is even less evidence for contacts between Egypt and Syria during the IInd Intermediate period,[8] which ties in the evidence from Tell Dab'a published to date. This indicates the end of Syrian imports from the end of the XIIIth Dynasty onwards, at a time of transition when the local Asiatic culture became increasingly Egyptianised (Bietak 1991: Level E/3=b/2).

Lebanon

The autonomy of Lebanon during the Middle Bronze Age is no longer in question. There is no evidence here of Egyptian control or occupation, but Egypt's influence on the élite and religious culture of Byblos was direct and indisputedly strong. Byblos was the main Levantine port to which Egyptian ships sailed and the main point of diffusion to the north. Its strong links with Egypt date back to the Early Bronze Age and beyond, with only brief periods of interruption (Ward 1971; Helck 1971). The court culture of Byblos strongly identified with Egypt: its Amorite rulers emulated Egyptian titulary;[9] its use of hieroglyphs[10] (Porter and Moss 1951: 386–92) and its

also found in UM II contexts (Schaeffer 1939: Figs. 11, 12, Pl. IV; 1962: 224; Fig. 21; Yon *et al.*, 1991: 345). This Middle Kingdom material, with that of Qatna (note 3) is taken here as being contemporary with Middle Kingdom exchange.

The evidence of the small finds is very general. For example, there is a Sesostris I bead that was most probably part of a later series (Schaeffer 1935: 167 note 1; Schaeffer 1962: 215 Fig. 20) and Middle Kingdom scarabs are mentioned as coming from UM Tomb groups (Schaeffer 1949: Fig. 21, Pls. XII, XVI), but these are not fully illustrated. Other Middle Kingdom scarabs, including one made from amethyst, are randomly referred to (Schaeffer 1933: 114, note 3; 1934: 113–14). For other miscellaneous small finds, see Caubet 1991: 208–9.

3 A XIIth Dynasty sphinx, belonging to Ita, daughter of Amenemhet II, and other statue fragments were found in the late Bronze Age sanctuary of the Nin-Egal Temple (Mesnil du Buisson 1928: 16–17: 1011, Pls. IX: 2, XII).

4 The pieces are a decorated fragment of a ceremonial mace from Tomb C of the Hypogeum showing two baboons flanking jumbled hieroglyphs naming Hotepibre (?) (Scandone-Matthiae 1979b: 119–128, Figs. 36–40). The excavators suggested that the hieroglyphs were secondarily jumbled on replacement (Scandone-Matthiae 1979b: 120–1; see Fig. 78, note 90, for another piece possibly from the same mace). Lilyquist (1993: 46) proposes a Levantine origin on technical and art historical grounds. A gold cloisonné ring and parts of a gold and faience necklace from the Lord of the Goats Tomb are very Egyptianising (Matthiae 1981: 224–5 Figs. 66, 67; cf. Vernier 1927: Pl. XXII: e.g. 52. 238–9 for Middle Kingdom rings (dissimilar) but *ibid.*: Pl. XXIII: 52. 168 for inlaid lotus motifs; and de Morgan 1894: Pl. XVII, 66 no. 18 for a necklace element) but again Lilyquist suggests a Levantine origin (1993: 46–7). A scarab possibly naming Dedumose II of the XIIIth Dynasty (Djedneferre) was also found on the surface of the tell (Scandone-Matthiae 1976: 179–89, Fig. 1:4).

5 For example, stone vessel fragments inscribed with the names of Chephren (Scandone-Matthiae 1979a: 33–7 Figs. 11, 12) and Pepi (Scandone-Matthiae 1979a: 37–40, Figs. 13, 14) as well as numerous uninscribed IV–VIth Dynasty pieces, were recovered in the debris of a destruction layer of EB IVA Palace G (Scandone-Matthiae 1979–80:189–92; Scandone-Matthiae 1979a: 35–40; Matthiae 1981: 99–128). The Pepi Ist fragment is paralleled at Byblos (Scandone-Matthiae 1979a: 38–40).

6 At Terqa, a group of Middle Kingdom and IInd Intermediate period scarabs was found in a cache in the temple of Ninkarrak (Buccellati 1983: 51, 60, 57 Fig. III: 7). The temple is attributed to the Khana period (*c.* 1750–1600 BC) but it is not clear which building phase the scarabs came from. A fragmentary alabaster vessel with a possible Middle Kingdom inscription was found on the surface of Tell Leilan (Meijer 1986: 44 no. 7.1, Figs. 7a and b).

7 See, however, Suleiman 1984: 1–16 for an EB and MB 'ossuary' from Ansari near Aleppo. A sphinx dating to Amenemhet III was found at Neirab near Aleppo (Porter and Moss 1951: 395).

8 Scarabs of this period occur at Ugarit (Schaeffer 1932: Pl. XI: Fig. 2; 1935: 131 Fig. 18; 1939: Figs. 16 and 17, 128, Fig. 113). See also Tell Sukas (Riis 1958–9: 132, Fig. 20) but the photographs are very poor. Very few scarabs were found at Alalakh Levels VII and VI (Woolley 1955: 20: Pl. LXI, 32). A late IInd Intermediate period cylinder seal from Palestine was found at Ebla, but no context is given in the publication (Matthiae 1977: Fig. 94; 1989: Fig. 157). A Hyksos scarab (awaiting publication) was found at Ebla in 1994.

9 *ḥ3ty-ʿ* (prince, mayor, governor) normally qualified by *ʿn knb* (of Byblos) was the most common title, followed by *iry-pʿt* (prince), *ḥq3 ḥq3.w* and miscellaneous kinds, such as *sḏ3w* (the great). Yantin (XIIIth Dynasty) used the first three (Albright 1964: 40, 41; Montet 1962: Fig. 6). Yapishemu-abi even wrote his name in a cartouche (Montet 1928: Pl. XCVII).

10 The hieroglyphs of the larger inscriptions are particularly idiosyncratic.

luxury goods.[11] Equally, Egyptianising and Egyptian inscriptions, statuary and monuments at Byblos imply the worship there of Egyptian deities.[12] During the Middle Kingdom, Hathor was officially titled 'Hathor, Lady of Byblos' (Dunand 1937–39: 18–19, Pl. XLIII: no. 1051) or 'Hathor, Lady of Dendera who is residing in Byblos' (Dunand 1937–39: 181–2, Pl. XL: no. 2856). There is no evidence that the adoption of Egyptian titles at Byblos was anything other than an expression of the Byblite rulers' status in their own eyes. This stemmed from their identification with Egyptian nobility (Kemp 1983) for prestige purposes, and was not a sign of submission to the Egyptian court. The retainment of local identity is also indicated by Egyptianising as well as straightforwardly Egyptian material or its emulation at Byblos (see notes 11, 13, 32). The archaeological evidence points to peaks in Middle Kingdom contact with royal gifts in the late XIIth Dynasty[13] and with Neferhotep[14] and possibly a Sehetepibre[15] in the XIIIth Dynasty. The IInd Intermediate period is very poorly attested at Byblos:[16] the excavator believed this was because the relevant levels had not been discovered (Dunand 1964-6: 32–3). It may also correspond to a period of less close or plainly commercial relations with Egypt, for an emulation by the Byblos rulers of Semitic rulers from the Delta, however Egyptianised, would seem incongruous. Almost nothing is known of the contemporary political organisation of other centres in the Lebanon. The Execration texts refer to the clans (*wḫt nt)* and Asiatics (*ʿ3mw nbw)* of Byblos (Posener 1940 [= P]: E63; Sethe 1926 [= S]: f2) and of Irqata north of Tripolis (S e22, f12; P E54, E61) and all Asiatics of Ullaza (S f3; P F2). The inscribed evidence for Middle Kingdom contacts with Lebanon beside Byblos is sporadic.[17]

Palestine

Palestine in the Middle Bronze Age can be seen as two cultural entities: the north, with Hazor as the main site, was closer to the Syrian cultural province, whereas south of the Jezreel valley was far more susceptible to direct interaction with Egypt. Almost nothing is known of the political organisation of Palestine during the MB IIA (1950/1900–1750/1700 BC), which recent archaeological work is showing to have been in parts a prosperous urban culture engaging in maritime trade (Marcus 1991). Hazor and its ruler Ibni-Adad is mentioned in the Mari texts (A 1270 and see Malamat 1971 for further references) with one other centre, Laish,[18] and its ruler Waritaldu (Malamat 1971). Another locality beyond Hazor is mentioned but in a regrettably broken text (ARM

11 For example, jewellery: a pectoral showing a pair of enthroned pharaohs (Montet 1929: 162–4, 617: Pl. XCIV); a shell pendant with the figure of a frontal hawk supporting a cartouche with the name of Yapishemu-abi (Montet 1929: Pl. XCVII: 6187; cf. also a shell pendant from the Trésor du Liban (Chéhab 1937: 8–9 no. 2, Pl. II: 2, see below note 13); gold collars from the royal tombs (Montet 1929: Pls. XCVI: nos. 619–22); uraei (Montet 1928: Pl. XCVIII: nos. 647, 648); silver mirrors (Montet 1928: 162–3, Pl. XCII: nos. 615, 616); gold sandals (Montet 1929: 173: Pls. CII, CXII: nos. 650, 651). The irregularities in the execution of much of this work indicates local work.

12 For example: offerings to Nut, Re-Harachte and the Enneads are mentioned on the stela of Akay (Montet 1964: 62–5); Nut and Horus are mentioned on another fragment (Montet 1964: 64–5); Herishef is mentioned on the obelisk of Abishemu (Montet 1962: 89–90). A temple of Nut is referred to on the stela of Akay (Montet 1964), but, given the nature of the Byblos excavations little can be deduced about cult installations for Egyptian deities. The obelisks that give name to the temple in which they were found are all crude and locally made. They appear to have been either votive or mortuary stelae (Glueck 1938: 172; Dunand 1937-9: 644–54: Fig. 767; Finkbeiner 1981: esp. 60–7; Sagieh 1983: 14, 132).

13 Material from the Royal Tombs I and II, belonging to Abishemu I and his son Yapishemu-abi respectively (Kitchen 1967: 40: nos. 2 and 4) provides the first firm association of indigenous rulers with Egyptian pharaohs. An obsidian vase from Tomb I has the prenomen of Amenemhet III (Montet 1928: 155 no. 610) and an obsidian box and the lid of a vase with the name of Amenemhet IV come from Tomb II (Montet 1928: 157, 159: nos. 611, 614). Lilyquist argues that the sequence of Tombs I and 2 extended beyond the XIIIth Dynasty (1993: 41–2). Amenemhet III is named on a pectoral that was part of an unprovenanced group of Egyptian, Egyptianising and Levantine precious objects (Chéhab 1937: 7–21: Pl. I: 1a and b) and Amenemhet IV, on a separate fragment of gold leaf. Both these lots were sold on the market and may originally have come from Byblos.

14 A badly broken relief shows a Levantine ruler in a long robe (Yantin) seated in front of a hieroglyphic inscription naming Neferhotep I (Dunand Fouilles I 1937-9, 30: no. 3065).

15 An unprovenanced cylinder with a dual hieroglyphic and cuneiform inscription (now in the Metropolitan Museum) is attributed to a ruler from Byblos (Yakin-ilu) and correlates him to a Sehetepibre (Pinches and Newberry 1921; Hayes 1953: 342: Fig. 226). This has been taken to be either Sehetepibre II of the XIIIth Dynasty or an earlier XIIIth Dynasty pharaoh with the same name (Helck 1971: 65).

16 No Hyksos royal name scarabs have been found at Byblos and the rest of the scarab evidence from this period is very poor (e.g. Dunand 1937-9: Pl. CXXVIII: nos. 2443, 2444, 3076, Pl. CXXIX: no. 2954).

17 A sphinx of Amenemhet IV was apparently excavated at Beirut in the course of laying modern foundation trenches (Dunand 1928: 301–2); a sphinx of Sobekhotep IV (XIIIth Dynasty) and a statue of the nomarch *Df-Hʿpj* (I, II or III) (XIIth Dynasty) were found at Tell Hizzin near Baalbeck, but no details of the context are given in the publication (Montet 1954: 76; Chéhab 1968: Pl. IIIe). The Middle Kingdom scarab evidence from Ruweise is substantial (Tufnell 1975–6; 1984: 3, 252); but the Sesostris I scarab from Tomb 66 is part of a later series. The tomb itself is MB IIB. My thanks to Pirhiya Beck for checking this.

18 Malamat (1971) and Kempinski (1992a) have suggested an identification of this centre with Tel Dan.

VI: 23). The so called earlier Execration texts (Sethe 1926) mention a number of localities that can be identified in Palestine, often with multiple rulers (*ḥqꜣ*) with mostly West Semitic names.[19] This has been interpreted as reflecting a tribal system in some areas. The Egyptian story of Sinuhe (Lichtheim 1975) mentions the lands of Qedem (east or south of Byblos); Upper Retenu (north of Shechem and the coastal plain?) and its chief (*ḥqꜣ*) Ammunenshi, and the adjoining territory of Yaa. It gives a picture of lands ruled by tribal chieftains in conflict with each other. This should be taken in part as the Egyptian perception of foreigners (Loprieno 1988).[20] Archaeological evidence for contacts between south and central Palestinian MB IIA and the Egyptian XIIth Dynasty is growing (Weinstein 1975, 1992; Marcus 1991) but this material hardly constitutes evidence of Egyptian political authority in south or central Palestine, or even of intense contact.[21] The Egyptian sources show mutable relations: for example, they attest to the importation of livestock from Retenu (Newberry 1895: 26–8, Pl. 18) and to bulls of Aamu (Blackman 1915: 13, Pl. 4), but also to military intervention, notably against Shechem in the reign of Sesostris III (Posener 1940: 68, E6), whereby Retenu fell. This intervention may have been to protect trading interests (Weinstein 1975). Other Egyptian sources (e.g. Mit Rahina inscription: Farag 1980: 75–82; Posener 1982; Malek and Quirke 1992) show that commercial expeditions were not always peaceful and frequently included booty. Further trade relations between Egypt and Asia/Palestine are mentioned below. The late XIIth Dynasty was also a period of mobility when Asiatic infiltration into the Delta began.

MB IIB (*c.* 1750–1700–1600 BC) in Palestine was a time of growth for already-known centres but also of resettlement towards the south. The possibly later group of Execration texts (Posener 1940) includes names known from the Thebes group but the total list is substantially bigger (sixty-four names of localities as opposed to the earlier eighteen) and, significantly, it names single rather than multiple rulers.[22] This period coincided in Egypt with the fragmenting XIIIth Dynasty, the loss of the eastern Delta by the XIIIth Dynasty and the final conquest of the Delta by Semites, known in Egypt as the *ḥqꜣ ḫꜣs.t* or 'Hyksos' (XV and XVIth Dynasties) from *c.* 1680 BC. The evidence for XIIIth Dynasty relations with Palestine is ambiguous and confined to statuary[23] and Egyptian titled private name[24] and royal name scarabs.[25]

19 The readings of the place and personal names are taken from Helck (1971), Rainey (1972) and Ahituv (1984), with the realisation that an up-to-date reworking of this material is badly needed. Examples of identified locations: Rehov (*ʾarḥbu*) with the rulers (*ḥqꜣ*) *ʿpruhq* and Jaman-ʿumu (S e11-12; Ashkelon (*ʾasqlnu*) with the rulers *ḫ()rjakim* and *ḫksnu* (S e23-25); Jerusalem (*r( )wuš( )lmm*) with the rulers Jaqir-ḫammu and Saz'anu (S e27-28). Examples of groups: tribes/clans (*ḫrt*) of Šutu (Moab) with the rulers *ʾaj-b-m, kušr, sb( )lunu* (S e4-6); the Asiatics of the harbour people (*ʿꜣmw nbw nw dmj-tjw* (S f16).

20 My thanks to S. Quirke for this reference.

21 Middle Kingdom statuary from Palestine (for example, Gezer: a statue of princess Sobeknefru (Weinstein 1974: 49–56)); Megiddo: a statue of the nomarch Djehutihotep (Wilson 1941: 227ff, Pls. I–III) both of the XIIth Dynasty; 'Ein-Ha-Shofet: a statue dating to the time of Sesostris III (Giveon 1978) and see also Tel Dan: *Orientalia* 1984: 409b cannot be used as firm evidence of contemporary contacts because it comes from later or uncertain contexts. There are no fundamental reasons why this material could not be accepted as evidence of Middle Kingdom contacts, even if, as is the case of the statue of the nomarch, which has a funerary inscription suggesting an original context in Egypt, the arrival of such a statue may have been secondary. Private name and royal name sealings of the XIIth Dynasty are attested at, for example, Shechem (with the late XIIth Dynasty title: *imy-r pr* and personal name Amenemhet, Rowe 1936: Pl. XXVI S4); Tel Yoqneam (Amenemhet III, Ben-Tor and Zarzecki 1988) and see note 24 for impressions from Jericho. See also a PN (*imy-r pr Nr-ib* or *Ḥnr-ib*]) scarab from MB IIA Aphek (Giveon 1988: 44-45: 37) and a XIIth Dynasty amethyst scarab with a feminine title (*ʿnsw*) from Ajjul (Tufnell 1984: Pl. XLIX: no. 2909; Martin in Tufnell 1984: 144). An impression with the name Amenemhet III from Tel Michal (Schulman 1978) is dated to the IInd Intermediate Period by Brandl (1993a) and the dating of an impression on a 'weight' from Tel Nami to Amenemhet III (Marcus 1991: Chapter 8) is also disputed by Brandl (1993a n. 3). Scarabs of Sesostris I (Gezer, Beth-Shan; Ward 1971: 74 Fig. 29, nos. 1 and 4) cannot be taken as indicative of contemporary contacts for most of them were made at a later date for commemorative purposes. For further evidence of small finds, see Marcus 1991: 41–2.

The contemporaneity of scarab sealings should be questioned, but appears genuine in some cases. For example, D. Ben-Tor argues against the contemporaneity of the MK impression from Shechem on the basis that the 'jar is of a later date, typical of the MB IIB phase' (1995: 10). As only the handle of this jar survives, this in itself is not sufficient to date the vessel (my thanks to P. Beck for checking this). Moreover, the simultaneous use in the MB IIB of an MB IIA Syrian cylinder seal with a contemporary scarab on the same handle, would be a very special coincidence. There are no really valid grounds for not dating this handle with its impressions to the MB IIA. See note 24 for further discussion.

22 Examples of identified locations: Ashkelon (*ʾasqli)* with the ruler Muri (P E2); Shechem (*skmimi*) with the ruler Ibbiš-Haddu (P E6); Aphek (*ʾapqum*) with the ruler Janka-ilu (P E9); Rehov (*ʾarḥbum*) with the ruler Jakmis-Hammu (P E14); Hazor (*ḥsuara*) with the ruler *gsa* (P E15); Jerusalem (as above S e27-28) name of ruler lost; Akko (*ʿkja)* with the ruler *taʿmmu* (P E49); Laish (*rawusi*) with the ruler *ḫw( )r-ni-ʾab* (P E59)*;* examples of groups: tribes (*wḥyt*) of Kušu (P E50), Upper Šutu with the ruler Šumu-abu (P E52).

23 Pieces from Gezer (Macalister 1912: 311–13: Fig. 450; Weinstein 1975: 55) and a piece from Tell Ajjul (Petrie 1931: 5, 8: Pls. XXI; 99, XXII; Weinstein 1974: 54) are attributed to the XIIIth Dynasty on stylistic grounds.

24 Private seals, notably scarabs but also stamps, cylinders, plaques and cowroids, were particular to the late Middle Kingdom–IInd Intermediate period in Egypt. Their use in Egypt is thought to be a reflection of contemporary administrative changes, from a centralised to a decentralised bureaucracy (Martin 1971: 4–5; Johnson 1977: 142–4; Quirke 1986; Ben-Tor 1988). In Palestine

The significance of the private name scarabs in Palestine is unresolved. They are of different types and found mostly in graves with few concurrent sealings (see note 24). Current debate centres on whether they were purely amulets with a wholly secondary and mostly decorative function (e.g. D. Ben-Tor 1995), or whether they could be functional and amuletic, with both contemporary and secondary usage (Keel 1995), and to what extent they are an indication of Egyptian presence in Palestine (Giveon 1976, 1980; D. Ben-Tor 1995, Keel 1995). The subject needs further consideration. First, in the context of all seal usage and pottery analysis in MBA Palestine to establish dates and internal and external trading patterns. Second, in light of contemporary Egyptian political history, which included the decline of royal power in the XIIIth Dynasty and the poor record for Middle Kingdom titles and bureaux in the northern half of the country after Sobekhotep IV (Quirke 1991: 214). Both the contemporary and secondary use of these scarabs is likely but the question of who used them remains. Local use is the most obvious answer, but given trading links between Egypt and Palestine (see below), occasional Egyptian presence in Palestine should not be totally dismissed.

Other aspects of the political status quo in Palestine during the MB IIB are also not understood. The gradual infiltration of the Delta by Asiatics from the end of the XIIth through the XIIIth Dynasties is generally acknowledged. What is not known during this period of infiltration is the nature of relations between different Palestinian centres with the Delta and with each other, and with the subsequent Egyptianised XVth Dynasty. A special affinity between the Delta culture and Tell Ajjul (Sharuhen) is recognised but until further evidence from Tell Dab'a is published, correlations with Palestine remain general. The presence of Hyksos royal name scarabs on their own, without sealings, as evidence of Hyksos 'hegemony' in parts of Palestine, is to be taken cautiously. Their distribution, however, is mostly southern and significantly concentrated at Tell Ajjul (Weinstein 1981; see also Bietak 1991 fig. 19).[26] There is no evidence of serious military confrontation between Egypt and Palestine until the destruction of Avaris and the siege of Sharuhen by Ahmose in *c.* 1550–1530 BC. This confrontation contributed to the collapse of the late MB IIB urban system in Palestine, already damaged by internal conflict (Na'aman 1994).

1.2 CHRONOLOGY

The chronology used in this book is the Mesopotamian Middle Chronology (Hammurabi 1792–1750 BC). Correlation with the Egyptian Middle Kingdom is problematic, first because current evidence from Egypt does not allow for a consensus on absolute dates (e.g. the beginning of the Middle Kingdom is alternatively placed at: 1994 BC (Barta 1978); 1938 BC (Kraus 1985); 1963 BC (Quirke 1988); 1985 BC (Quirke 1992); 1979 BC High, 1937 BC Low (Kitchen 1987); 1963 BC High, 1937 BC Low (Kitchen 1989–90) and second because synchronisms with western Asia are to date quite loose. The dates for Egypt used here are the lowered 'High' ones of Kitchen 1989 (XIIth Dynasty: 1963–1786 BC, XIIIth Dynasty 1786-1648 BC) because they make sense when used with the western Asiatic data discussed in this book. The correlation between the Egyptian and the western Asiatic data used here is thus between the lowered 'High' Egyptian chronology and the Mesopotamian Middle Chronology. A correlation between Neferhotep I of the XIIIth Dynasty (1723–1712 BC), Yantin-Ammu of Byblos and Zimri-Lim of Mari (*c.* 1775–1762 BC: Durand and Charpin 1985), assumed to be valid by

the majority of PN scarabs with and without titles (Tufnell 1984) can be given a general XII–XVth Dynasty date, although their dating and classification is still not precise. The most recent comprehensive lists of PN scarabs from Palestine are to be found in D. Ben-Tor 1995 and Keel 1996. The titles on the scarabs from Palestine attributed to the XIIIth Dynasty represent four main categories of administration and the military (Quirke 1986 with samples taken from Tufnell 1984): the Treasury (Martin in Tufnell 1984: 142–7: Jericho, Pl. XLIX: no. 2904); Ajjul (*ibid.*: nos. 2910, 2912, 2914); Far'ah (*ibid.*: no. 2908); of these Far'ah no. 2908 and Ajjul no. 2912 are from a series; Court/Palace (Jericho: *ibid.*: no. 2905, possibly from the XIIth Dynasty; *ibid.*: no. 2906; Aphek: Giveon 1988: 44–5: no. 37); the Military (Ajjul: *ibid.*: no. 2917); Craftsmen (Ajjul: *ibid.*: no. 2913). These can also occur as impressions, for example, from Jericho: Rowe 1936: S5 (title with a funerary epithet). D. Ben-Tor has argued that the titles on many of the scarabs found in Palestine, which are of high officials, are incompatible with a possible function in Palestine (1995:10). She also points out that no official government seals or sealings were found in Palestine compared to those in Nubia (D. Ben-Tor 1995:10). This is surely not surprising given the very different nature of relations between Egypt and Nubia and Egypt and Palestine at this time. Other PN scarabs, for example, one of a craftsman (the seal-maker *Stḫ* from Ajjul (*ibid.*: no. 2916); and two with only personal names (Far'ah: *ibid.*: no. 2907 and Ajjul: no. 2911) were made in the IInd Intermediate period. For Egyptian private name scarabs with figurative designs, some akin to Palestinian ones, see Martin 1971: Pl. 41: nos. 28–37; Pl. 42: nos. 1, 2. There is no reason to doubt that these are not Egyptian: Martin 1971: no. 1482, Pl. 41 no. 31 was found in a Theban tomb of the XIIth Dynasty (chamber 1, Tomb 97).

25 For example, scarabs of Hetepibre and Sobekhotep have been found at Jericho; of Neferhotep I at Ajjul and Far'ah (S) (Tufnell 1984: 140–2, 180, Pl. XLIX) and Fassuta (Brandl 1989/90: Fig. 78). See Keel 1995: § 623ff for a comprehensive list of RN scarabs from Palestine.

26 See also more recently: two scarabs of Yakubum from Kabri (Kempinski 1990: 632–4).

Kitchen (1987) is not accepted here, as none of the dates, except for those of the low chronology for both Egypt and Mesopotamia, correspond. Helck (1971: 64–6) suggested equating Yantin-Ammu with Zimri-Lim and another Yantin with Neferhotep. Even though there is no evidence to support this suggestion, beside the fact that the rulers of Byblos often used the same names (Kitchen 1967: 40–1), this alternative seems plausible.

For Palestine, following the Israeli consensus, the following dates and period divisions are used MB IIA 1950–1750/1700 BC, MB IIB 1750/1700–1550 BC (Kempinski 1992; Weinstein 1992) rather than the low chronology option (Dever 1992). I have used seal periods (Chapter 3: Period I: *c.* 1920–1830 BC; Period IIA: *c.* 1820–1740 BC; Period IIB: *c.* 1720–1620/1600 BC; Period III: 1620/1600–1550 BC) in dealing with the Syrian glyptic in this book because this is the most suitable option for the material and avoids straightjacketing the data into arbitrary archaeological Middle Bronze Age divisions. These anyway do not correlate with those of Palestine or the Lebanon. I have followed Kempinski (1992 contra Gates 1981, 1989; McClellan 1989; Dever 1992) in keeping the dates for the end of Alalakh VII fairly high to *c.* 1620/1600 BC and therefore keeping Alalakh VII contemporary with the XIIIth (*c.* Neferhotep I on) and the early XVth 'Hyksos' Dynasty, rather than wholly within the IInd Intermediate Period. Both the archaeological evidence for poor contacts between IInd Intermediate Period Egypt and Syria and the glyptic evidence from Alalakh convincingly support this correlation.

The seal evidence is discussed at greater length in Chapter 2. Here I shall only indicate pertinent points that contribute to the chronological debate:

(1) Widely distributed Syrian seals of a specific type from Period IIA (*c.* 1820-1740 BC) show a link between the later XIIth Dynasty, Kültepe Ib, Tell Leilan (1760–1720 BC) and late Hammurabi or very early Samsuiluna Sippar (Chapter 2, note 4, paragraph 2). This is not interpreted as favouring the Lower Egyptian chronology but rather that the Sippar and Leilan seals were slightly older ones re-used. The correlation between the XIIth Dynasty and Kültepe Ib stands.

(2) Despite a new reading of the hieroglyphic inscription of seal 76[27] a Middle Kingdom date for the seal still stands (Teissier 1992). The new reading, which now includes common Egyptian funerary epithets, attests even further than before the very close interaction between a central or south Levantine centre and Egypt during the Middle Bronze IIA-B.

(3) More generally, iconography on seals from Period IIA confirms the archaeological evidence from Syria-Levant and the written sources from Egypt for the strength of XIIth Dynasty contacts with these areas, for by period IIA Egyptian and Egyptianising motifs had not only been incorporated into the cylinder-seal repertoire but also adapted.

(4) The glyptic from Alalakh VII, both in terms of Egyptian scarabs and of Syrian glyptic with Egyptian and Egyptianising motifs, shows a continuing tradition with periods IIA-B (Middle Kingdom) rather than any new IInd Intermediate period features (but see Chapters 2 and 5 for the Hawk-headed god).

1.3 TRADE

International trade in Middle Bronze Age Levant was a complex network linking the movement of various commodities along several axes. There was north–south maritime trade from Egypt to the Levant and vice versa, with ports in Palestine as transit stations, perhaps with connections further afield (Tel Nami: Marcus 1991), but with Byblos and Ugarit as main points of diffusion. There was riverine trade along the Euphrates with Emar and Mari receiving from the south and east and diffusing west, north–west and north. There were inland routes across northen Syria, north to Anatolia and south from Iamhad, Ugarit and on to Palestine, via Hazor; and across the desert from Mari to Qatna and south to Palestine. Internal, smaller circuits operated within this broad scheme. The primary commodities diffused through these centres were metals – tin, received at Mari mostly from Iran (Elam, Susa, Anshan) and diffused as far as Crete; copper from Sinai and Cyprus; silver from Anatolia; gold from Anatolia and Egypt – woods (the main sources of which was the Lebanon and the Amanus); foodstuffs such as grain, olive oil and wine; textiles; and luxury goods such as semi-precious stones: lapis lazuli from Afghanistan; obsidian from Anatolia and Egypt; turquoise from Sinai and other gifts (Gerstenblith 1983; Moorey 1985; Larsen 1987; Heltzer 1989). Trade was intrinsically linked to diplomacy, and a commodity such as tin, for example, could be given as a gift (Villard 1984: 7–8 A. 1270). The Mari texts show that royal journeys, which were an occasion to visit other kings and worship at local shrines, were accompanied by trade caravans (Durand 1983: 314). The gifts given along one such journey from Mari to Aleppo and Ugarit (ARM I:

27 To be published by J. Malek in a forthcoming *Levant*.

no. 535; Villard 1984 and 1986) consisted mostly of clothes and vestments (535: e.g. ii 3, iv 17), ceremonial weapons (535: e.g. ii 4; iv 20–22), and jewellery (535: e.g. ii 3–15). The latter references are particularly relevant in the context of this book, because, along with rings and other items of jewellery, they specify the gift of seals, one mounted on a ring (535: i 8–12) and others made of lapis lazuli (535: iv 1–6). The name of the maker of one such seal (Yanṣib-Dagan) is also given (535: iv 1–5). If this reading of the text is correct, this is possibly the earliest reference to a seal-cutter known to date (see also note 24).[28]

The role of Egypt within the wider context of trade in the Near East during the Middle Bronze Age is not known. References to Egypt are conspicuously absent from the Cappadocian and Mari texts, yet this need not imply that her role was only peripheral. Large-scale trade can leave virtually no archaeological or textual remains. The evidence from Egypt is largely one- sided: its 'imports' are better known than its 'exports'. Woods of different types (*mrw*: fir, cedar; *w'n*: juniper from the Lebanon; Ward 1971: 7, 9, 22ff Merikare), but also from closer at home (*mt Ḥs.tjw*: Ward 1971: 72 Khety; Helck 1975: 179–80) is the most widely mentioned import, with resin (Helck 1972). Minerals: galena, turquoise (Gardiner 1917: 35–6 Khety; Posener 1982: 8 Mit Rahina) and lapis, presumably from a Syrian intermediary (Habachi 1972: 37–8 Khety, Kamose); metals: copper from the Sinai, silver and lead, originally from Anatolia, from an unlocated intermediary further north (*tmpꜣw*: Khety, Mit Rahina, Kamose); weapons from the Retenu (Kamose); oils, aromatics, incense, honey and fat from the Lebanon and Syria (Mit Rahina, Kamose); eye cosmetic (Khety; Beni Hasan, Newberry 1893: Pl. 31) and cattle from Palestine (Meir, Blackman 1915: Pl. 4:13; El Bersheh: Newberry 1895: Pl. 18:26-28) are also mentioned. The mechanics of this trade are not known, but a distinction clearly exists between large-scale, presumably established, trade in a major commodity such as wood, and trading expeditions in which numerous commodities were obtained, not always by peaceful means (Gardiner 1917: 35 Khety). Gold, grain, spices, semi-precious stones, luxury goods and trinkets remain the most plausible Egyptian exports to the north-east. The latter categories are the only ones of which some material evidence remains in Syria-Palestine. Included in the 'luxury' category would also be perishable goods such as furniture, chests, boxes and textiles. Egyptian gifts abroad have been mentioned in passing. This is specified in the story of Sinuhe when the Egyptian party coming to greet him on his return to Egypt is accompanied by 'loaded ships ... royal gifts for the Asiatics' (who has escorted Sinuhe: Lichtheim 1975: 231, ll. 240–50). Such gifts, or any transportable decorated items were the primary source and recurring impetus for the transmission of Egyptian iconography in the Levant. Secondary, already Egyptianising, Levantine sources, however, including well-travelled artefacts such as cylinder seals, must also have played a significant role in the dissemination and adaptation of motifs.

Although there is evidence in Egypt of 'luxury items' from outside, such as the Tod Treasure,[29] to date there is no means of linking such items to diplomatic contact.

1.4 THE MOVEMENTS OF PEOPLE

As much as the commodities themselves, the movement of people in various capacities – for example, as craftsmen, merchants, scribes and workforces in the context of trading missions or of diplomatic exchange, or servants bought or captured – is also to be considered as a diffusive force of regional specialisation and variety. The Mari texts imply a vivid interest and appreciation of craft, artistry and valuable objects from abroad. The request of the 'man' (king/ruler) of Ugarit to visit the palace at Mari is the best-known example (Parrot 1937: 74–5, note 1), but equally artisans and singers at Mari were hired from different centres such as Iamhad and Carchemish (Gerstenblith 1983: 13; Sasson 1968: ARM XIII: 42; ARM I: 83). The king himself took a personal interest in the decoration of metal vessels (ARM XIII: 55), for example, and in carpentry (ARM XIII: 7). Egyptianising arts from the Levant and Syria show that this interest must have included things Egyptian, but this is not reflected in the texts.

Actual Egyptian presence in Syria is impossible to gauge from present evidence: Cypriotes, Cretans and Byblites probably lived at Ugarit in a transitory capacity, but it is impossible to tell whether Egyptians were

28 Two seal-cutters are known from the Alalakh Level VII archive: a Hurrian, Eḫluwa (Collon 1975; AT 240, 268, 274, 373, 377) and an Amorite, Addu-Malik (Collon 1975; AT 268, 252). For another reference to the gift of seals see ARM XXV: 118 r 33.

29 This treasure, which contains objects of different provenances, was supposedly buried during the reign of Amenemhet II (Bisson de la Roque 1950). As it may not have been buried in a properly sealed Middle Kingdom context, Kemp and Merillees have argued that it was probably laid during the reign of Tutmosis III (Kemp and Merillees 1980: 290–4). This is a controversial view, and on present evidence no object for which a close date may be established requires deposition after the Middle Kingdom. See also Lilyquist 1993: 35–6.

among them. Further south, the evidence is easier to assess. Undoubted Egyptian presence at Byblos must have included a wide range of people from sailors to wood-cutting workforces, to scribes, craftsmen and officials. Interpreters may also have been present but the Egyptian language was presumably understood locally. In Palestine, where relations with Egypt were more diffused and ambivalent, Egyptian presence is possible but its intensity is difficult to assess from present evidence. The story of Sinuhe mentions that Egyptian was spoken in Upper Retenu, where an understanding of Egyptian customs is also implied (Lichtheim 1975: 224–5: 30–80).

We do not know what provisions were made for Egyptians dying abroad during this period. The often-quoted passage from Sinuhe, in which he states that there is nothing more important than being buried in the land of one's birth (Lichtheim 1975: 228–9: 180), demonstrates the Egyptian dread of death and burial abroad, although having one's body transported home was probably only a privilege of the wealthier classes. The burials of the poor (workmen, sailors) leave little trace (Garstang 1907). In Palestine, however, infant burial jars with hieroglyphic inscriptions have been found at Acco and at Tell Ifshar (Dothan 1990; Marcus 1991). Conversely, there are many Egyptian references to an Asiatic presence in Lower Egypt during the later XIIth and XIIIth Dynasties. A precise identification of the origins of the Asiatics is difficult, however, as ethnic and geographic designations are used concurrently. The papyrus Brooklyn (Hayes 1955; Posener 1957) texts from Ilahun (Griffith 1897; Posener 1957), private stelae (Posener 1957; Kitchen 1991) and texts from Sinai (Černý 1935) refer to Asiatics (*ʿmw*, and sometimes qualified as from the Retenu or from *ʿȝmw*: Gardiner, Peet and Černý 1955: nos. 24, 81, 85, 87, 93, 110, 112, 114, 115, 120 and 136; Helck 1971: 85–6) as mine-workers, carpenters and 'peasants' in the Sinai (Černý 1935) as well as to 'servants/slaves' (*ʿmt*, *ʿwt*) of a semi-professional type (cooks, temple personnel), and particularly women weavers and embroiderers, in Lower Egypt (Posener 1957). These workers were integrated into society: they could have Egyptian names, they married into Egyptian families and acquired property (Posener 1955: 150;155. For the names, see Kitchen 1991). The sources are ambiguous on the means by which the Asiatics became workers in Egypt. Helck (1971) and to a lesser extent Posener (1955) suggest that the 'servants' may have been sold into service rather than captured. Captives, however, were taken during skirmishes in Sinai and Palestine (Mit Rahina, Posener 1982: 8); favourable working conditions and family ties are also options (Posener 1955: 158–9). The presence of Levantine and perhaps Syrian middlemen, merchants and sailors in the Delta, and Palestinian traders (Siut, Meir), together with the gradual infiltration of Lower Egypt by Palestinians from the late XIIth dynasty onwards, contributed to Egyptian exposure to Asiatics and *vice versa*.

Thus the movement of Egyptians and Levantines to and from their countries at a generally peaceful level, barring the occasional skirmish with Palestine, appears to have been the norm for most of the Middle Kingdom.

1.5 SEALS, SCRIPT AND COMMUNICATION

The evidence for scribal activity – Akkadian cuneiform written on clay tablets – in Middle Bronze Age Syria is so far confined to Terqa (Buccellati 1988; Rouault 1984) and Mari (ARMT I–XXVI) on the mid-Euphrates, Emar on the upper Euphrates (Arnaud 1986, only one tablet) and Alalakh in north-west Syria. The texts from Terqa, a centre originally under Mari's control, date to the subsequent Hana period and are irrelevant in the context of this book. Equally, Tell Leilan and Chagar Bazar in present north-east Syria were effectively independent north-Mesopotamian centres at this time. The archive of Alalakh Level VII is particularly important in the context of this book for so far it supplies the only documents with a substantial number of Egyptianising seal impressions (Chapter 2 and Chapter 3). To date, archives are lacking from the other important Syrian centres of Iamhad: Ebla,[30] Ugarit and Qatna.

In Middle Bronze Age Syria, the cylinder seal was the primary means of sealing: there is little evidence for the use of other mediums, except for the hems of garments, for example at Alalakh (Collon 1975: 143, Pl. LIV: no. 169). There is no evidence for the use of indigenous stamp seals, nor have any been found in Syria dated to this period. The usage and ownership of seals at Alalakh, where there was a large element of Hurrians in the population (Wiseman 1953), seems to have been the same, irrespective of nationality (Chapter 3).

Further south, the evidence for script and sealing is more varied but less straightforward. No cuneiform tablets dated to the Middle Bronze Age are known from Byblos[31] and the evidence for sealing is minimal. This is quite anomalous, given the importance of the site and its contacts both to the north and to the south. The seals themselves, however, suggest mediums of communication. The former fall into three major groups: Egyptian seals (scarabs and cylinders, including royal ones); Egyptian personal-name scarabs, of which those of the

30 An Old Babylonian tablet was found at Ebla (Kupper 1980).

31 An Ur III tablet fragment was found at Byblos (Dunand 1950-8: no. 14023).

Byblos rulers, already mentioned, constitute a sub-group; and Syrian and miscellaneous cylinder seals.[32] This suggests the simultaneous use of scarabs and cylinders, which would conform to the dual usage of papyrus in dealings with the south and in clay tablets in dealings with the north. The poor Levantine cylinder-seal evidence, together with the surviving epigraphic evidence from Byblos – both monumental and glyptic – which is hieroglyphic, implies, perhaps misleadingly, the dominance there of an Egyptian script and to a lesser extent of a local pseudo-hieroglyphic one (Hoch 1994). As yet there is no way of verifying this.

The division of Palestine into two broad cultural zones – the north, culturally in the Syrian orbit, and the centre and south closer to the Egyptian orbit – has already been mentioned. The epigraphic evidence for the use of cuneiform and of hieroglyphs for these regions is regrettably meagre, but nevertheless highly interesting for its mixture of separate traditions. Only a handful of cuneiform tablets have been found in Palestine broadly dating to this period (Anbar and Na'aman 1986–7). Four, including a calf liver model, come from Hazor (Hallo and Tadmor 1977; Landsberger and Tadmor 1964; Ben-Tor 1992; Horowitz and Schaffer 1992a,b) where archives might be expected, two from Shechem (Böhl 1926, 1974), one from Gezer (Schaffer 1970) and one from Hebron (Anbar and Na'aman 1986–7). Their distribution conforms to both the northern and the southern cultural orbit: this may be significant in itself, but assumptions cannot be made on the basis of so few tablets. Idiosyncratic cuneiform is found scratched on a pot sherd from Hazor (Yadin 1960: 115–7 Pl. CLXXX) and on cylinder seals (Chapter 2 and Chapter 3). The evidence for the use of cylinder seals in Middle Bronze Age Palestine is to date limited to two jar impressions, from Shechem (see note 21) and Tell Far'ah (N) (Mallet 1988) respectively and a broken sealing near Aphek (Beck 1993), but the presence of cylinder seals and their probable manufacture there implies usage (Teissier forthcoming 1996). Even though Egyptian was apparently spoken in Upper Retenu, unlike Byblos, evidence for the local use of hieroglyphs and the use of hieroglyphs by Egyptians is poor and mostly indirect. A direct correlation between scarabs and papyrus is not necessarily obvious in Palestine for some scarabs were made locally for local use and we do not know whether this included papyrus (Teissier forthcoming 1996). The loose sealings[33] that have been found indicate various uses. Hieroglyphs were used both phonetically and symbolically on scarabs and on cylinder seals (see Chapter 3 and Teissier forthcoming 1996), and miscellaneously, for example, on infant burial jars, mentioned above. At Shechem, for example, there is evidence for various mediums of sealing and communication: cuneiform; the use of a Syrian cylinder on a jar (see Chapter 2, note 4) and Egyptian scarab impressions as loose sealings and on jars (see note 33). A third epigraphic medium of communication was also developing at this period as a direct result of the influence of hieroglyphs in the Sinai: the Proto-Sinaitic script, the precursor of the alphabet (Sass 1988). An inscribed dagger, from an eighteenth or seventeenth century BC tomb at Tell ed Duweir, is the earliest manisfestation to date in Palestine of a Proto-alphabetic script (Sass 1988: 53–4, 151; see also 54–8). This script does not seem to occur on seals from this period, although experimentation with signs is demonstrated by a small group of seals that may have originated in Palestine (Chapter 3, Group C; Teissier forthcoming 1996).

32 The Egyptian royal and private name scarabs, excluding those of the rulers of Byblos, are scant compared to those from Palestine. The former are represented by a cylinder of an Amenemhet (Dunand 1937–9: no. 1551, Pl. CXXIV), an elongated bead naming Amenemhet III (Dunand 1937–9: Pl. CXXVII no. 2905), and by a scarab of the XIIIth Dynasty King Wahibre Yayebi. The few Egyptian PN seals, which include a stamp seal, occur as part of offerings (e.g. Dépôt aux Faïences: Dunand 1937–9, Pl. XCV: no. 15378; Martin 1971: nos. 329, 1259), in tombs (Martin 1971: 564); in the Beirut group of objects thought to have come from a Byblos tomb (Chéhab 1937); and miscellaneously (Martin 1971: nos. 551a, 1319). The scarabs of the rulers of Byblos are in the tradition of Egyptian PN scarabs. Presumably they were made at Byblos but no firm conclusions can be derived from the scarab evidence at Byblos until it has been properly studied. So far, this has only applied to scarabs from the Jarre Montet (Tufnell and Ward 1966; Ward 1971, 1978; Lilyquist 1994). The cylinder seal evidence is miscellaneous. Seal periods I–III (see Chapter 2) are represented, but in contrast to cylinders of the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age (Dunand 1945; Ben-Tor 1978), they do not form homogeneous groups, nor are there sufficient numbers to demonstrate the existence of a local carving tradition (see the arguments for the manufacture of Group C seals in Chapters 2 and 3). A few of the seals are characteristically Syrian (Dunand 1937-9: Pl. CXXIV: nos. 1862, 2337; Pl. CXXV: no. 3217). The cylinder of Yakin-ilu and Sehetepibre (Newberry 1921), which has equally well carved hieroglyphs and cuneiform, was commemorative (approximately half its original size survives: 49mm.)

33 Jar handles: e.g. Shechem, Horn 1966: nos. 44-46; Jericho, Rowe 1936: S5; Shiloh, Brandl 1993: no. 5.– Stoppers: e.g. Shechem, Horn 1966: no. 50; Giveon 1965: 203a.– Conoid clay lumps: e.g. Megiddo, Loud 1948, Pl. 164:1–2; Ashdod, Brandl 1993: no. 20.– Knobs for boxes: e.g. Shiloh, Brandl 1993: no. 6 Fig. 8.6.– Pegs: e.g. Shechem, Horn 1973: nos. 72–7 Fig. 2p 268.– Miscellaneous: e.g. a sealing described as 'probably from a letter' (Ajjul, Rowe 1936: Pl. XXVI: S9 pp. 236–7) in fact only shows traces of string and possibly textile at the back, indicating that it most likely sealed a commodity; base of bowl: Tel Mor, Dothan 1973: Fig. 313, Pl. 13D; clay sealed scaraboid: Ajjul, Giveon 1985: no. 138; other: Gezer, Macalister 1912: Pls. CCIX: 80, CIIa: 5.– Funerary artefacts: e.g.Tufnell 1984. A preliminary analysis of the iconography of scarabs used functionally has shown that scarab design types were used indiscriminately on all categories of sealed artefacts, with no substantial difference to those found in tombs (Teissier, forthcoming 1996).

Only selected examples are given above as Keel 1996 lists all this evidence comprehensively. I thank Professor Keel for letting me consult his manuscript prior to publication and for a number of references.

Seals and sealing had a vital role to play in communication, not only as transmitters of iconography and ideas of status but of geographical and often ethnic identity. They were also transmitters of political and cultural perceptions. Glyptic is only one art form from Syria-Levant that is Egyptianising,[34] or that shows Egyptian 'in-

34 The effects of Egyptian 'influence' fall into two categories:
(1) the direct emulation of Egyptian prototypes and
(2) their integration into other mediums and their adaptation.

(1)–i *Jewellery*. This has already already mentioned in note 11.

(1)–ii The emulation of traditional Egyptian *ivory* figurines is difficult to detect without close examination e.g. an ivory ape from Açemhüyük (Harper 1969: Fig. 10, bottom left; Barnett 1982: Pl. 25d) could either be Egyptian or a good Levantine copy. The examples given below include a degree of Levantine adaptation. Egyptianising ivory inlays from the latter part of the Middle Bronze Age have been found at Ebla (Scandone-Matthiae 1990) and at El Jisr in Palestine (Amiran 1977: 65–9). They depict royal, divine (Horus, Hathor, Sobek at Ebla) and apotropaic figures (lion, *Taweret* at El Jisr) and vegetal forms. Included in each group are non-Egyptian features: a sacred tree at Ebla, and a standing man in a full-length robe at El Jisr. The ivories are carved in different styles: those from El Jisr have been compared to examples from Kerma (Stevenson-Smith 1981: Fig. 211; Barnett 1982: 25), and their silhouettes recall the Egyptianising sheet-metal figurines of the Pharaoh from Byblos (cf. Negbi 1976: Figs. 39–41). The style of the Ebla ivories is both coarse and of very fine quality. Whereas the El Jisr ivories were certainly locally made, the finer examples from Ebla may have come from Egypt. The hippopotamus ivory box from Pella of probable late Middle Bronze date and of Asiatic manufacture (Potts 1987) is shaped as a traditional Egyptian cosmetic box with a ridged lid. It includes mostly Egyptian decoration adapted in a non-Egyptian manner (Potts 1987: 60–1, 63; see below and note 7).

(1)–iii *Figurines*. Metal figurines of male warriors (Negbi 1976: 21: Figs. 26–8), the Pharaoh in a white crown (Negbi 1976: 23–4: Fig. 30), and bare-headed and wigged females with their arms by their sides (Negbi 1976: 77–8 nos. 1591, 1595, 1596; Fig. 127) from Byblos are closely derived from Egyptian prototypes made of wood, pottery or faience (Hansen 1969; Negbi 1976; cf. e.g. Aldred 1980: Fig. 101; Hayes 1953: Figs. 117, 129, 133, 137, 215; Bourriau 1988: nos. 26, 27). A bronze lion-demon figurine in a kilt (Dunand 1950–8: Pl. CX: no. 15477) must also be modelled on an Egyptian prototype, although no close parallels exist from the Middle Kingdom (cf. Bourriau 1988: no. 98). The iconography of a jackal holding a *was* (Montet 1928: Pl. L: no. 154) and an animal birth-delivery scene (Dunand 1937–9: Pl. CXXXVIII: no. 7727) in sheet metal is also very Egyptian.

(1)–iv The origin of the *faience* figurines and vases from the Pro-Cella deposit of the Temple of the Obelisks at Byblos is uncertain. The nature of the offerings themselves, which include models of dwarves, nude females, cats, hippopotami, etc. (Dunand 1950–8: Pls. XCV–CXIII: nos. 15121–566) are characteristically Egyptian. They may be compared to funerary statuettes from the Middle Kingdom (Lisht, Heliopolis: Hayes 1953: 223–7: Figs. 137, 140, 142), and antecede the votive deposits of the New Kingdom (Pinch 1993: 79). Without close examination and chemical analysis it is difficult to ascertain whether they are Egyptian (Pinch 1993: 79) or locally made (Hansen 1969: 282). Comparisons with Egyptian figurines are very close.

Other objects from this deposit, notably a steatite 'rod' (Dunand 1950–8: Pl. XCV: nos. 15462–3; cf. Hayes 1953: Fig. 143 from Heliopolis), a stamp seal (Dunand 1950–8: Pl. XCV: no. 15378) and the ivory head and torso of a lion-demon ('Bes') (Dunand 1950–8: Pl. XCV: no. 15377) seem high quality Egyptian products, unlike, for example, a faience vessel lid with floral decoration (Dunand 1950–8: Pl. CXIII: no. 15417). Other faience vessels are similar in shape to Egyptian ceramic forms (Dunand 1950–8: Pl. CXI nos. 15387, 15388; cf. Engelbach 1915: Pl. XXXIII: 70w). These discrepancies, compounded with the existence at Ugarit and probably elsewhere in the Levant of non-Egyptian workshops using glazing recipes similar to Egyptian ones (Caubet and Kazmarczyk 1987: 48), indicate a probable mixed Egyptian and Levantine origin for this deposit. A small faience vase in the shape of a Hathor head from Ebla (III. B. *c.* 1650–1600 BC: Matthiae 1989: Fig. 166) may thus also be of Levantine manufacture.

(2)–i *Figurines* of males from Byblos standing in the Egyptian smiting pose and sometimes wearing the *atef* or the white crown have an iconography which is otherwise Palestinian or Anatolian (Collon 1972; Negbi 1976: 30, 34: e.g. Figs. 44-5, 49; Moorey 1984).

This combination also appears on a *stela* from Ugarit which shows a male deity in an Egyptianising plumed head-dress and uraeus, but in an otherwise Syrian iconography (Schaeffer 1949: 88–9: Pl. XXII, centre). Another *stela* from Ugarit (Schaeffer 1949: 88–9: Pl. XXII, left) shows the outlined body of a goddess in a feathered robe which crudely emulates those worn by Egyptian goddesses. This stela is incomplete and it is impossible to tell whether the figure would have been wholly or only partially Egyptianising.

(2)–ii *Ceremonial weaponry and jewellery* from Byblos and a scimitar from Shechem, which may have originated from a Byblos workshop (Müller 1987), are decorated with Egyptianising motifs. Uraei (Yapishemu-abi: Montet 1928: 174–7: Pls. XCIV: no. 653; C, CI and Tomb III: Montet 1929: Pl. CI: no. 65), a lotus (Shechem), and hieroglyphs (Yapishemu-abi) are inlaid in niello on scimitars; gold repoussé decoration for a dagger handle and blade from a Byblos deposit from the Obelisk temple (Dunand 1950–8: Pls. CXIV, CXVIII, C: nos. 14442–5) includes a male figure in a white crown (see Figurines above) and an animal-birth scene with a baboon. Again from the Royal tombs, a bell is decorated with two flanking females in Hathoric wigs (Montet 1928: Pl. XCIV: 707) and *was* and *djed* motifs appear in repoussé on a gold head-band (Montet 1928: Pl. XCVIII: 644). A silver *vessel* from one of the princely tombs at Ebla ('*Signore dei Capridi*') has an *ankh*-like motif engraved on its side (Matthiae 1979: 191–3, Fig. 87). *Ivories and bone* from Syria and Anatolia show different degrees of Egyptianisation. Miniature hippopotami, lions, snakes and a crocodile mounted on a curved bone plaque fom Tell Mardikh (Matthiae 1979: 173–5: Figs. 69–73; Matthiae 1980: 17–18: Figs. 20, 21) are reminiscent of the apotropaic animals applied in relief on Egyptian magical rods (cf. Hayes 1953: Fig. 143) or to figurines found in the Byblos faience deposit (Dunand 1950–8: Pl. XCVIII: nos. 153879–83). A squatting ape and a frontally facing male figure with arms hanging down his sides on the body of the plaques are also Egyptianising (Matthiae 1979;

fluence', and I take this trend in art to be a conscious or unconscious demonstration of attitudes and reactions to Egypt not merely at the level of 'artistic' response to her visual stimulae. Because glyptic is the one such art form that survives in the greatest quantity, it is the best-suited to test such a hypothesis. The term Egyptian 'influence' is to be used advisedly in this context: in the case of Syria in particular the term has no political connotations (contra Nagel and Eder 1992: 64) (see Preface). Its possible cultural connotations will be analysed in the following chapters. In the Lebanon, Egyptian 'influence' was integrally linked to local royal prestige, whereas in Palestine it was more ambivalent. This too is expressed by the glyptic.

1980). Matthiae has suggested that the design of the two curved plaques from Tell Mardikh, which otherwise show Syrian and Cappadocian iconography, may have been inspired by Egyptian magical wands (Matthiae 1979, 1980). Plaques with an incised *djed* from Alaça Hüyük (Arik 1937: Pl. 59, Fig. 6) and ducks (Barnett 1982: Pl. 25f), a monkey holding a vessel (Harper 1969: Fig. 13) and the ivory box from Açemhüyük (Özgüç 1976: 555–9) may be of Syrian and Levantine origin. The delicate incision of the duck plaque from Açemhüyük can be compared to the El Jisr ivories.

(2)–iii *Painting.* At Mari, one of the two trees from the 'Investiture' painting from the palace of Zimri-Lim (Barrelet 1950: Fig. 12D) terminates in a cluster of crescent shaped umbels, which are segmented and decorated in polychrome paint. Identical but smaller crescent-shaped shoots grow from the trunk of the tree. Both shape and decoration recall the stylised representation of Egyptian papyrus and lotus plants from the minor arts (e.g. Aldred 1978: no. 29) and painting (Davies and Gardiner 1926: Pl. XIX). The Mari tree does not conform botanically to any known species, and as it is associated with mythical beings, it may be called a mythical tree, inspired by plant representations from Egyptian or Egyptianising minor arts. It contrasts but also complements the realistic palm tree with humans beside it. Parallels between Egyptianising motifs discussed above and those on Middle Bronze Age glyptic are inevitably few because of the differences in media. What is difficult to ascertain at present, but should be investigated, is what categories of art objects in Syria-Levant do not show Egyptian 'influence'.

2 SYRIAN SEALS AND EGYPTIANISING WORKSHOPS

2.1 GENERAL DATING, STYLES, EGYPTIANISATION

Syrian seals of the Middle Bronze Age I–II can be divided into three main periods:

I ('pre-classical' *c.* 1920–1830 BC)
II A and B ('classical' 1820–1740 BC and 1720–1620/1600 BC respectively)
III ('post-classical' 1600–1550/1500 BC)

on the basis of seals and seal impressions that can be dated by their inscriptions or that come from stratified archaeological contexts. These periods, which correspond to the Middle Kingdom (I and IIA–B) and to the IInd Intermediate period in Egypt (III), give a broad framework within which we can follow the principal trends of the absorption of Egyptian iconography into the Syro-Levantine repertoire of the Middle Bronze Age. The majority of the seals and seal impressions discussed in this book can be attributed to periods II A–B and originate from north-central Syria (eastern-most Mari), north-west Syria and coastal Syria. Far fewer come from further south. In central Levant, both cylinders and scarabs have been found, some of local manufacture (see below and Group C). To date there is no evidence for the manufacture of cylinder seals in Palestine during periods I and IIA, in contrast to Period IIB and III, even though these were known and used there during the Early Bronze Age[1] and a number of Middle Bronze Age Syrian cylinder seals and impressions have been found there (see note 4). During the Middle Bronze Age, scarabs and scaraboids, both from Egypt and locally made, were the dominant seal form in Palestine.

The dating and stylistic development of Syrian seals of the Middle Bronze Age is well-documented (Collon 1975, 1987; Porada 1980; Teissier 1984, 1994). This is not the place to repeat this data. Only points of specific relevance to dating and to Egyptian 'influence' will be summarised here. In Chapter 4, questions of iconography, which have been given far less attention, are examined in greater detail.

The evidence for Period I is limited to Syrian and Syrianising seal impressions on tablets from the Old Assyrian trading colony of *kārum* Kanesh (Level II: 1940–1830 BC) at Kültepe in Cappadocia (see Teissier 1994 for dating) and a seal from a MB 1 Tomb 57 at Ruweise (Guiges 1938: 34, Fig. 54).[2] To date, neither the styles characteristic of south-east Anatolian or north-Syrian trading colonies ('Syro-Cappadocian') nor the sophisticated north-west Syrian style with Mesopotamian influence (Teissier 1993 and 1994) nor the similar Ruweise seal, show Egyptian influence. The sphinx does occur in Syro-Cappadocian and Anatolian iconography but is not noticeably Egyptian (in contrast to later sphinxes, see Chapter 5).[3] Equally, the smiting posture (see Chapter 5), already integrated in the Anatolian and to a lesser extent the Syro-Cappadocian repertoire, and which also occurs in early Old Babylonian glyptic from Sippar (Collon 1986b: 165–6), probably came to Syria via Anatolia rather than directly from Egypt. The apparent paucity of Egyptian influence on Syrian styles of this period corresponds to a time when contacts between Egypt and the Levant were gathering momentum.

Period IIA is particularly important for several reasons. First, it is well-documented, with widely distributed seals. Syrian seals and impressions in different styles are attested in Anatolia (Kültepe Level 1b; Açemhüyük, Karahüyük, Bogazköy in levels contemporary with Kültepe 1b (*c.* 1830–1740 BC); Sippar (*c.* 1792–1712 BC (Middle Chronology); north-east Syria (Chagar Bazar; Tell Leilan *c.* 1760–1730 BC); Mari (*c.* 1820–1750 BC),

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1 Cylinders seem to have been the dominant sealing medium in Palestine during the early Bronze Age (Ben-Tor 1978).

2 This largely ignored seal is not to be confused with a later Syrian seal from Ruweise Tomb 66 (see note 4). Tomb 57 is dated to the MB I by both Gerstenblith (1983: 42–3) and Dever (1992: 4). Even though the publication photograph of this seal is not very clear, the seal appears to have been originally Old Babylonian and recut. Its iconography, notably the sun god with rays emanating from his shoulders enthroned on a high-backed mountain throne, is close to that of a high quality Syrian seal impression from *kārum* Kanesh Level 2 (Özgüç 1953: no. 692; Teissier 1993: no. 1; 1994: 60–1: no. 581). This link between *kārum* Kanesh Level 2 and the MB I Ruweise Tomb 57 is fortuitous, for it emphasises the higher dating for Kültepe *kārum* Level 2 (Teissier 1994; Veenhof, forthcoming).

3 Examples of the sphinx in 'Cappaddocian' glyptic: Anatolian style (Özgüç 1965: 63: Pl. XXI: 71: Pl. XXIV); Syro-Cappadocian style (Lewy 1937: 18: Pl. CCXXXI). The sphinx with a lion's body and a human head was already known in pre-Akkadian (e.g. Boehmer 1965: no. 466) and Akkadian glyptic (e.g. Boehmer 1965: nos. 475–8). I should like to thank D. Collon for reminding me of this.

Ugarit, the Lebanon, Palestine and even Egypt.[4] Together with unprovenanced or loosely dated seals, these can be attributed to specific workshops (A, B, C, and see note 4), some with Egyptian motifs. One group of provenanced seals was probably related to a trade network and provides a correlation between the XIIth Dynasty, Anatolian sites of Kültepe 1b period, Tell Leilan and Old Babylonian Sippar (Hammurabi, Samsu-iluna) (see note 4). Second there is the first evidence of Syrian seals that are royal or belonged to royal officials. In the north these come from Mari, dated to the palace period (*c.* 1820–1750 BC Shamshi-Adad, Zimri-Lim)[5] and from Carchemish dated to Aplahanda, a contemporary of Zimri-Lim (*c.* 1776–1750 BC).[6] The royal seals from Tell Leilan are Mesopotamianising and do not belong to the mostly west-Syrian tradition discussed here (Parayre 1993: 511: nos. 1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 12; *eadem* 1987–8: table on 135). There are as yet no royal seals from the kingdom of Iamhad.[7] From further south on the Levantine coast two royal seals – one for a king of Buzuran (**136**), a kingdom in north-east Syria, and another for a Levantine king (**77**) – are remarkable for their Egyptianisation (see Chapter 3). Third this period is important for the first general manifestation of Egyptian iconography on Syrian seals, which supports the historical evidence for the strength of early Middle Kingdom contacts with the Levant and Syria. The major impetus in the transmission of Egyptian iconography must have occurred during late Period I (Mit Rahina inscription; Tod treasure; possibly the Amenemhet II sphinxes at Qatna, Ugarit) and in Period II (Amenemhet III: Byblos Royal Tomb I; Ugarit and Neirab sphinxes): that is, during the first half of the XIIth Dynasty. By mid-late Period IIA, or from the late XIIth Dynasty, a wide range of Egyptian iconography (the Egyptian king or Pharaoh, Egyptian and Egyptianising goddesses, Horus, symbols, etc.) had not only been absorbed and incorporated into west-Syrian iconography but also adapted. A clear distinction emerges in Period II between the iconography of north-west and north-east Syrian seals, with a cut-off point in the north-east, perhaps with the Euphrates as the border. Egyptian iconography on seals from Mari is to date confined to symbols, such as the Hathor head (**148**); the iconography of Carchemish shows both Anatolian and west-Syrian influences but no Egyptian motifs (see note 6 and comments to **186** and **247** in Chapter 3) nor do any of the

4 **Anatolia**: **Kültepe** 1b (Özgüç 1968: Pls. 8A, 11C, 13B, C, 15 A, D, 20C, 22 1a, 2, 26: 3, 29: 1, 2); **Açemhüyük** (Özgüç 1977: Pls. 5, 12, 13: 6: 15–17, 7: 19–20; 1980); **Karahüyük** (Alp 1968: 111–18, Taf. 11, 12, 21–3, 25); **Bogazköy** (Beran 1964: Taf. 8: 4 seal: no. 22); **Syria**:**Tell Leilan** (Parayre 1987–8; 1990: Figs. 13–15, 17–23); **Chagar Bazar** (Schaeffer 1974: Pl. 38a, b); **Mari** (Parrot 1959: Pls. XLI–LVI; Amiet 1960; 1961; 1982); **Ugarit** (Cat. No. 205; see also Amiet 1992: nos. 28–30, 32); **Lebanon: Ruweise** (Tomb 66 (MB I/II): Guiges 1938: 49: Fig. 73); Trésor du Liban (XI–XII Dynasties, most probably **Byblos**) (Chebab 1937: 11: no. 20: Figs. 2–4); **Palestine**: **Kabri**, Tomb 984 (eighteenth century BC) (Kempinski 1993: Fig. 1); **Megiddo**, cf. Trésor du Liban style (Loud 1948: Pl. 160: no. 3); **Far'ah N** (impression on jar handle, Mallet 1988: Pl. LXXXIV: no. 1); **Shechem** (impression on jar handle, Rowe 1936: Pl. XXVI: S4); **Jericho**, Tomb D9 (MB II) cf. Kabri group (see below) (Porada 1965: 656–9); Tomb J3 (MBA) (Porada 1983a); **Lachish** (LBA context, Parker 1949: no. 174); **Tell el Ajjul** (Parker 1949: no. 10 MBA context; no. 14 LBA context; Petrie 1931: 136 Pl. IV [Workshop A: Collon 1985: no. 1]). Of the two Syrian seals found in Egypt (East Karnak: Porada 1983b; Tell Dab'a: Porada 1984: Pl. 65), the one from East Karnak, found out of context, can be dated to this period by style, but there is no way of knowing when it reached Egypt. See below for the seal from Tell Dab'a.

Kempinski (1993) has already grouped together some stylistic parallels for the Kabri cylinder seal (cf. Shechem; Megiddo, see above); Alalakh (Collon 1982b: no. 22 out of context). To these I would add examples from Tell Far'ah N (Mallet 1988: Pl. LXXXIV no.1); Kültepe 1b (Özgüç 1968: 1: Pl. 29) and Karahüyük (Alp 1968: 22: Pl. 11); Tell Leilan (Parayre 1990: no. 20) and Sippar (Porada 1957: Fig. 2). I would also note a slight distinction in style but not in date between the Shechem impression and the Kabri seal. The Shechem impression has closer parallels at Sippar (Porada 1957: Fig. 2, Samsu-iluna year 3); Kültepe 1b (Özgüç 1968: Pl. 29: no. 1) and Tell Leilan (Parayre 1993: no. 20). The Kabri seal, distinguished by deeply incised carving, particularly of hairlines and garments, is better paralleled at Karahüyük (Alp 1968: Pl. 11: no. 22; 113: no. 8). All the seals mentioned in this paragraph, however, belong to a typological group (a style characterised by linear incisions of hair and dress with affinities with Workshop A; groups of standing but occasionally seated or kneeling, secular figures, facing each other with raised hands or holding plant fronds, frequently over a laden offering-table or stand) that is clearly distinguishable from other more modelled contemporary Syrian styles. The widespread distribution of this group of seals in centres notable for trade in Anatolia (Kültepe 1b, Açemhüyük, Karahüyük), at Sippar and reaching as far as Shechem, suggests a trade network contemporary with the XIIth and early XIIIth Dynasties and the Hammurabi and early Samsu-iluna period, emanating from somewhere in north Syria. I will be exploring this further in a forthcoming article. While on the subject of connections, it is worth noting that similar, distinctive scroll-type guilloches with small foliate motifs in the interstices are found in Workshop A (see above); Tell Leilan (Parayre 1990: Fig. 19, *c.* 1760-1730 BC) and the seal from Tomb 66 at Ruweise (see above). A similar guilloche without the foliate detail is on the possibly recut Tell Dab'a seal (Porada 1984: Pl. 65) from G/4 or transitional XII–XIIIth Dynasties, dated by Bietak (1991) to *c.* 1770–1740 BC. Another link between the Levant and Anatolia is shown by the impression of an MB II scarab or scaraboid from Açemhüyük (Özgüç 1980: Fig. III-13).

5 Parrot and Barrelet (1959: 190–1: Pls. XLI-II: no. 43), (Mukannišum); *ibid.*: Pl. XLVIII: nos. 71a–81b: (Ana-Sîn-Taklāku); *ibid.*: Pl. LVI (Ilkanum?); Beyer 1983: Fig. 8 Pl. 1 Fig. 1 (Kabi-Addu); see also Amiet (1960, 1961).

6 Seals naming Aplahanda/Aplihanda the king of Carchemish: from Açemhüyük (Özgüç 1980: Fig. III–17 impression); Amiet 1973: no. 350; Teissier 1984: no. 442; Williams-Forte 1976: no. 11, the seal of Matrunna, the daughter of Aplahanda. The seal of Matrunna has a winged sun disc already adapted to a winged rosette (see Chapter 5).

7 A very fragmentary envelope from Tell Leilan with part of an impression showing a goddess and part of a winged sun disc may originally have come from Aleppo/Iamhad (Parayre 1987–8: no. 26).

north-east Syrian seals found so far at Tell Leilan show Egyptianising iconography (Collon 1987; Parayre 1990). In contrast, the west displays a wide and varied use of Egyptian iconography by seal-cutters working in north Syrian and Levantine workshops. No doubt this was due to the west's greater exposure to Egyptian or Egyptianising designs and to the more fluid iconographical traditions of north-west Syria, which also reflect Anatolian influences, contrasting with the more conservative, Mesopotamianising iconography of far north-east Syria.

The seal impressions from the Level VII palace archives at Alalakh (Tell Atchana) provide most of the evidence for Period IIB (Collon 1975). As stated in Chapter 1 the conventional dates (Collon 1975; Kempinski 1992), which equate Alalakh VII (*c.* 1720–1620/1600 BC) with the XIIIth Dynasty, and part of the IInd Intermediate period, rather than the lower dates of Gates (1981, 1989) and Dever (1992), which equate Alalakh Level VII only with the IInd Intermediate period, are followed here at least for the Level VII archive period. There is nothing in the Egyptian iconography of royal or ordinary seals from Alalakh VII that suggests any link with the Hyksos period (see royal seals and historical and archaeological arguments, Chapter 1, and Workshops D and E). Among the Alalakh Level VII impressions are the first properly attested seals from the kingdom of Iamhad, whose capital was Aleppo, as well as those of the rulers of Alalakh, who were from the cadet branch of the royal family of Iamhad (Collon 1975, 1982b and 1987). Other royal seals of this period are the seal of Sumirepa, a king of Tuba (**68**) and of the son of king Indilimgur of Ebla (**184**). The first evidence of Egyptian influence on royal seals from north Syria, discussed in Chapter 3, is of major significance.

At present the evidence for Egyptian influence on the glyptic of north Syria suggests an absorption first at the popular level (Period IIA) and second at the royal level (Period IIB). This may be misleading because of the lack of evidence from Period IIA royal seals of Iamhad.

Again following conventional middle chronology, Period III corresponds to a time of general demise of the autonomous city states of Syria. The cylinder-seal evidence, which is very poor, reflects this. The glyptic of Levels VI–V at Alalakh (c. 1620/1600–1550/1500 BC), which directly follow Level VII (Gates 1981; McClellan 1989), shows local offshoots of a new Mitannian style (Collon 1982b: 8, Fig. 7). Further south, Egyptianising seals belonging to a Levantine tradition (Group C) continue in a style that degenerates, and a group of small steatite cylinder seals close to the contemporary scarab style also emerges in Palestine.[8]

A plausible case can be made for dating seals to this period but evidence is based more exclusively on stylistic and iconographic features that anticipate the Late Bronze Age (e.g. **30**). It is difficult to draw conclusions about iconography from such miscellaneous data, but the growth of Horus and of the Hawk-headed god as a popular subject (Chapter 5), which was paralleled by late XIIIth Dynasty and IInd Intermediate period scarabs from Palestine, is characteristic of this period.

2.2 WORKSHOPS WITH EGYPTIAN AND EGYPTIANISING FEATURES

A workshop is defined below as a group of seals showing not only homogeneity of style but also of detail. A distinction should be made between seals that can be attributed to workshops within a defined time period within the Middle Bronze Age and the exceptional 'Green Jasper' Group C, which lasted with differing styles into the Late Bronze Age, but which nevertheless maintained a tradition of working in jasper.

Workshop A: North Syria (Period IIA)
133, 134, 143, 144, 170, 174, 178, 181, 182, 191, 214, 222, 267. Related: 179, 180.

These seals belong to a north Syrian linear style first partly grouped by Schaeffer (1974), defined by Collon (1985) and further assorted below. On the basis of provenanced examples from Ugarit (most recently grouped by Amiet 1992) a north Syrian, possibly coastal, origin is probable. The distinctive stylistic features of the workshop are an emphasis on deep, fluid linear carving, especially evident in the carving of animal limbs, horns and tails, which are long and segmented. This carving emphasises movement. Animals in particular are shown in active stances, for example, rampant, with a turned head or a raised paw.

Iconographically, the workshop is dominated by naked or kilted males in a natural setting with both real and imaginary animals. This is an iconography directly derived from Anatolian glyptic but developed in Syria

8 For example: Tell Ajjul (Parker 1949: no. 21 (figurative), out of context; Far'ah (S): *ibid.*: no. 17 (groups of hieroglyphs), Tomb 565, XVIth Dynasty); and Tell Mardikh/Ebla (Matthiae 1977: Fig. 94; 1989: 231: Fig. 157: no. 70b, figures and hieroglyphs, no context given). These cylinders have not been included in the present survey because they are very closely related, both iconographically and through their material, to IInd Intermediate period scarabs, which are outside the scope of this book.

Teissier 1987b). Egyptian iconography in this workshop is limited to animal, royal and solar symbols (e.g. Egyptian or Egyptianising sphinx, Nekhbet vulture, Horus falcon, ram, worshipping ape), and symbols of life (*ankh*). The choice of Egyptian motifs indicates a deliberate selection incorporated primarily as phenomena related to natural forces, in keeping with the rest of the workshop's imagery. Whether their associations or placing in the field, sometimes in an Egyptianising manner (such as the solar falcon in the sky flanked by two apes: **143**) reflects a true awareness of their Egyptian values is doubtful (see Chapter 7). Not all the seals of this workshop have Egyptian or Egyptianising elements (e.g. Collon 1985: nos. 4, 5, 8, 11–14, 16).

Workshop B: North Syria (Period IIA)
76, 100, 245, 259, 260, 263, 265, 266. Related: 95, 103, 160.

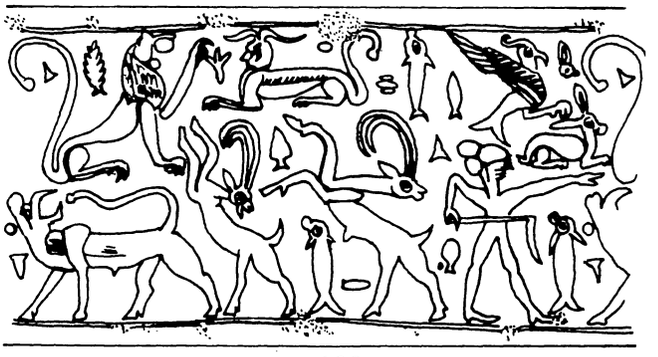
This workshop is again part of the north-Syrian linear style and has a stylistic affinity with Workshop A, although its figures are distinguished by more rounded modelling, and by the mannered projection of human and animal limbs, particularly arms, hands and kilts. The iconography also partly echoes that of Workshop A, for it includes animals, such as the ibex or bull (cf. **100** and **143**), bareheaded male figures familiar to themes of nature (cf. **178** and **265**) and specific motifs such as the twisted scroll with foliate motifs in the interstices (cf.**178** and **245**). It is distinguished, however, by a greater emphasis on human figures, both secular (e.g. the ruler: **76**), divine (e.g. the Mesopotamian goddess: **76**) and Egyptianising divine (e.g. **100**) or other figures wearing stylised wigs with linear striations hugging the head who are frequently winged or hawk-headed (e.g. **260, 265**). This Egyptianising iconography again appears to be consciously created and limited to a certain type. The goddess on **100** is the only fully anthropomorphic Egyptianising figure of this group, but her role as a nature goddess conforms with the context of the group as a whole. In contrast to the seals of Workshop A which show a fairly accurate rendering of Egyptian subjects, the subjects in Workshop B are very derivative. An origin for Workshop B in north Syria can be postulated on the basis of its affinity with A. Seals **174** and **267** show charateristics of both workshops. Again not all seals related to this workshop have Egyptianising traits (e.g. **160**).

Group C: Levant, Palestine (Period IIA–LBA)
60, 61, 62, 71, 72, 75, 77, 135, 136, 217-21, 226, 236. Related: 73, 87, 227.

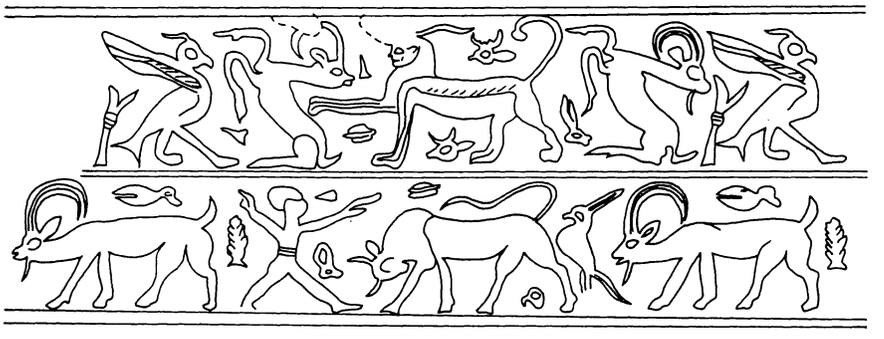
The seals of this group, called the 'Green Jasper workshop' by Collon (1986a), are distinguished by being carved mostly in jasper in a tradition that lasted from the eighteenth century BC to the Late Bronze Age. Other stones – obsidian, haematite and steatite – were also used and I shall return to these. The group shares stylistic and iconographic features such as Egyptianising iconography, the division of the terminal into two or more registers either filled with animals, symbols and floral elements, or an inscription (hieroglyphs or cuneiform or both), but there are also significant differences which bear on the origin of the seals. The Egyptian and Egyptianising iconography of this group is considerably more varied than that of workshops A or B. It includes animals such as apes, sphinxes, falcon and lapwing, symbols and floral elements as well as the Pharaoh and predominantly Hawk-headed deities. The seals are never wholly Egyptianising: both the non-anthropomorphic and the anthropomorphic motifs are mixed with non-Egyptian iconography such as guilloches or Levantine figures. Those scenes that do centre on human and divine participants are derived from Egyptian cult scenes (cf. **77**) or are akin to Palestinian scarab iconography, much of which was also ultimately derived from Egyptian cult iconography but some of which was indigenous to Palestine.[9] The Egyptian and Egyptianising animal and other minor motifs which are used in isolation may occur as royal symbols (e.g. the sphinx on **136**) and as decorative motifs in a seemingly miscellaneous, Syro-Levantine manner. The use of hieroglyphs is discussed below and in Chapter 3 (see also Teissier 1996, forthcoming).
Collon believed that the group was stylistically and iconographically individual enough to have stemmed from one workshop. Yet the seals show diverse iconographic trends:
(1) an earlier group in which animals and symbols in rows dominate, belonging to a more northerly Syro-Levantine tradition (e.g. Collon 1986a: no. 23, a haematite seal of this group found in Cyprus with no Egyptian motifs except for a monkey and two *ankhs*) culminating in seals such as **227.**
(2) a Levantine example closely connected to Egypt (**77**) and related **217**;
(3) a long-lasting group, in which humans and animals dominate, with affinities with Palestinian scarabs (e.g. **71, 226**). Even though these trends can be combined on the seals, different workshops or places of manufacture are nevertheless probable. I shall return to the question of the origin of this group.

9 M. Shuval of Tel Aviv University is currently making a comparative study of Middle Bronze Age scarabs in order to determine which were Palestinian and which were Egyptian. See also Keel 1989a,b; Schroer 1985. The scarab dating needs to be comprehensively reviewed.

Workshop A



133



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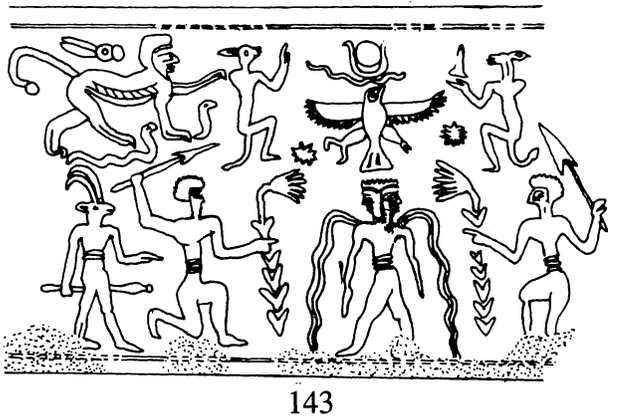
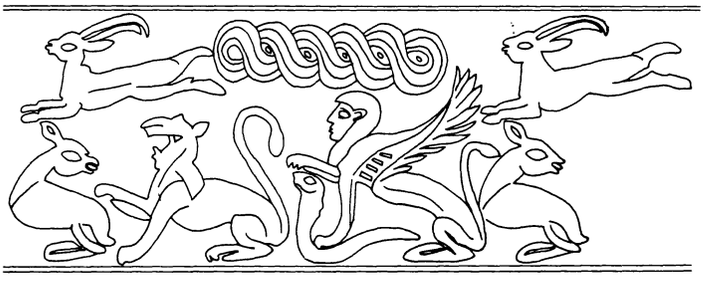
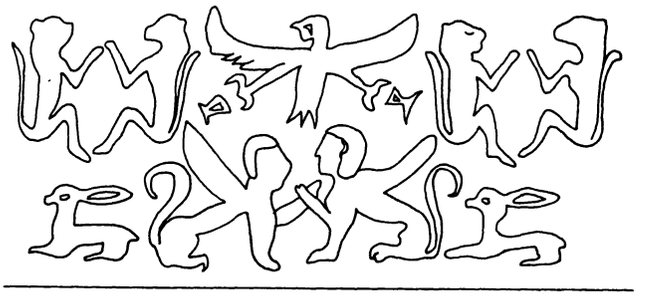


143



144



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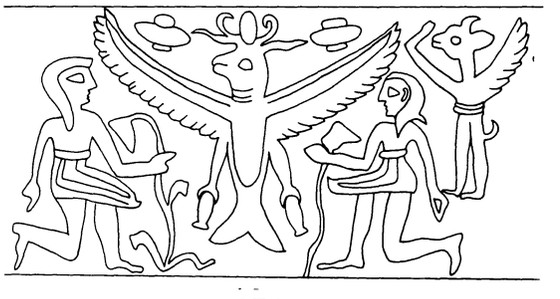

174

Workshop A

178

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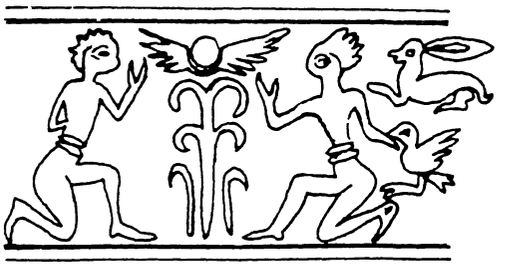
182



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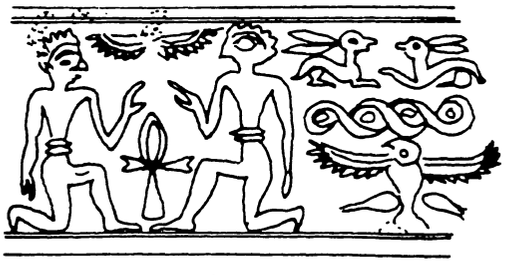

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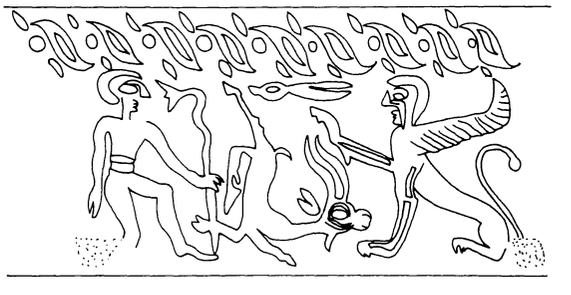

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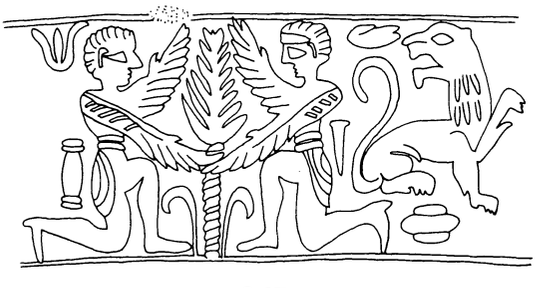
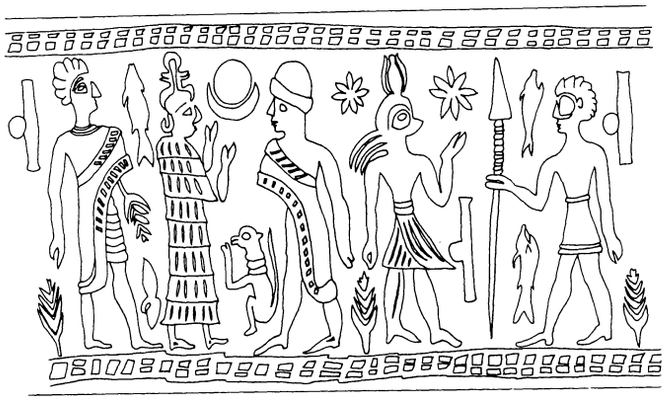


267

Workshop B



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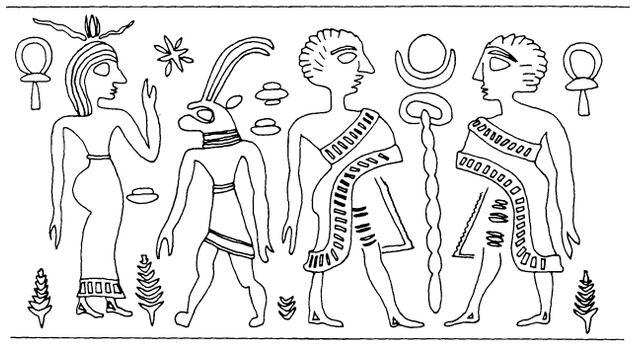

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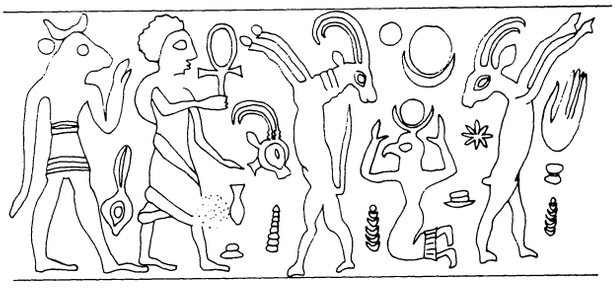
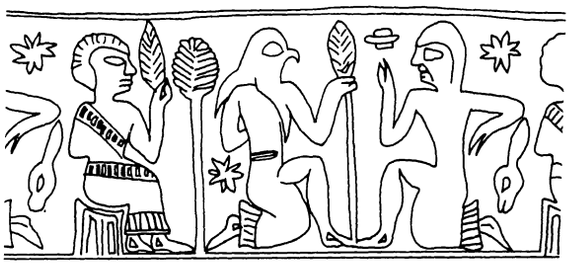
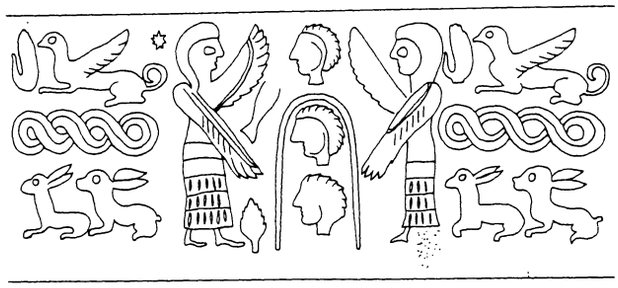


259



260



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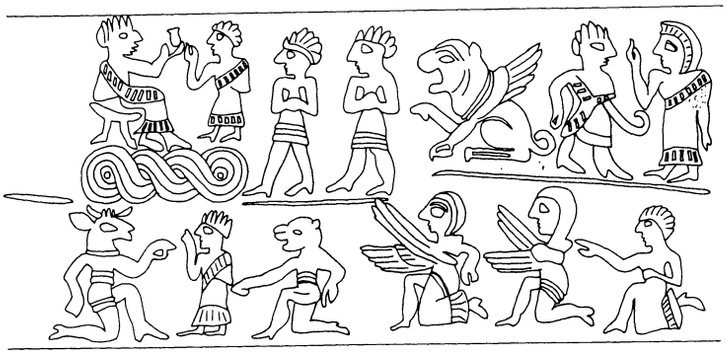
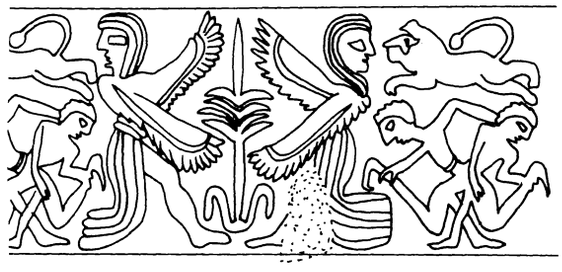


265



266

The dating of these seals is intrinsically linked to iconography, style and epigraphy, for as Collon stated: 'Few of the seals come from datable contexts' (1986a: 62). Seals **77, 135, 136, 217, 226** are the earliest and dated to the eighteenth century BC; **72, 75, 221** are probably late eighteenth to seventeenth century BC and **60–2, 218–20, 236** are the latest, dating from the seventeenth to the sixteenth century BC. Seals such as **61, 71, 72, 75, 221, 226** and **236**, show a number of features in common with Palestinian scarab iconography, variously dating from the early MB IIB and C (late XIIth–XIIIth Dynasties to the IInd Intermediate Period). These are, for example, the kilted male and the figure holding a plant, the Hawk-headed god, the figures in a wrapped mantle (Schroer 1985; Keel 1989b), hieroglyphic signs, symbols and floral motifs.[10] The latter are found on scarabs as early as the First Intermediate period (see Chapter 5). Whether scarab iconography influenced the cylinder seals or *vice versa* seems a redundant question with regards to the later, more southerly, seals of the group. These are contemporary with the scarabs, and there is a conflation of iconographies rather than a direct 'influence' of one medium on the other.[11] The earlier seals of this group (e.g. **136**), which are approximately contemporary with the earliest figurative scarabs,[12] have less in common with the scarab genre than the later seals, except for isolated motifs such as floral elements and the motif of the goose or duck, which are probably derived from Egyptian hieroglyphs (Gardiner 1978: Sign List G 38 *gb*, G 39 *sȝ*). The trampling sphinx in a double-plumed and ram's horns crown on seal **136** has few parallels in scarab iconography of the IInd Intermediate period[13] and parallels for the Levantine standing figure with a pony tail on **136** are distant (see Chapter 5). It would thus be fair to assume that while scarab iconography may have played its part in the development of early Group C iconography, other Egyptian or Egyptianising elements, together with Syrian iconography, were its main impetus.

The carving style of Group C seals has noticeable differences. The earlier, more northerly seals of the Group are carved in a modelled style with rounded human forms (e.g. **136**). This accentuates the curvature of animals' limbs and segments them, in a manner reminiscent of Syrian Workshop A (Collon 1985, 1986a). Humans become progressively slimmer (Period IIB: **217**) and eventually thin and stick-like (Period III–LBA, **60, 218**), again with scarab parallels (Keel 1989a).

One of the distinguishing and significant features of this group of seals is the use of hieroglyphs in registers, in cartouches, in groups or dispersed in the field. The use of hieroglyphs is exceptional in the case of seal **77**, for the inscription is partly funerary, but also includes a title (*haty-a*) characteristic of the scarabs of the rulers of Byblos among others (Chapter 1, note 9). Other parallels for the hieroglyphs on these seals are with the 'anra' group and by other hieroglyphic signs or groupings on scarabs from Palestine.[14] Such scarabs may have been derived from Egyptian private name scarabs, and are certainly typologically related to them. Occasionally, hieroglyphs can be combined with cuneiform on the same seal (**218, 226**). This phenomenon is very rare in cylinder seals. The reading and significance of the hieroglyphs and cuneiform is discussed in Chapter 3 (see also Teissier 1996, forthcoming). A further link between Group C seals and PN and other Egyptian and Palestinian scarabs of the XIIth–IInd Intermediate Period is shown by their similar use of semi-precious stones. As already stated jasper was the predominant material used for cylinders of Group C and obsidian was used in one instance (**136**).[15]

10 Comparisons for (i) the kilted male (Tufnell 1984: Pl. XLIII 2740, 2748, 2749; Pl. XLV; Pl. XLII: no. 269); (ii) the figure holding a plant (Tufnell 1984: Pl. XLVI: nos. 2799–815; Pl. XLII e.g. nos. 2695–705); (iii) the Hawk-headed god/figure (Tufnell 1984: Pl. XLIV: nos. 2755–77; Keel 1989b); (iv) hieroglyphic signs and symbols (Tufnell 1984: Pls. XIX, XX); (v) floral motifs (Tufnell 1984: Pl. II: nos. 1053–66, Pl. III: nos. 1067–9, 1072, 1084, 1093–101).

11 The influence of Syrian cylinder seal iconography on Palestinian scarabs has been plausibly argued in some cases (Schroer 1989: goddess) but is not accepted here for Group C seals, contra Schroer 1985 and Keel 1989b. This also applies to the figure of the ruler in a mantle.

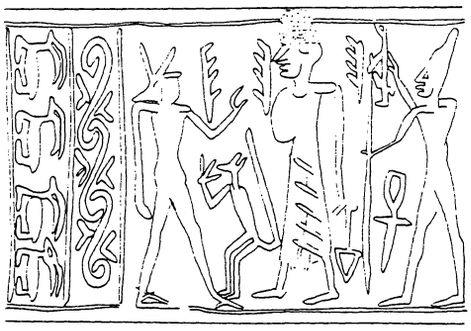
12 The earliest standing figures (mantle wearers, males in kilts) occur in early MB IIB contexts (Schroer 1989: Abb. 66 from Megiddo Tomb 5259; Abb. 32 from Barqai MB IIB context?; cf. Keel 1989a: 217–21, 247–8).

13 I should like to thank Stephen Quirke for showing me unpublished IInd Intermediate period scarabs from the British Museum that show sphinxes with double plume (BM no. 39404) and double plume and horns (BM no. 47208) crowns.

14 For the 'anra' group: Tufnell 1984: Pl. XLV: nos. 1694–764; Pl. XVII: nos. 1768–805; for others: *ibid.* e.g.Pls. VII-XV.

15 Of the large number of mostly unprovenanced titled or named jasper scarabs (Martin 1971: *s.v.* jasper), one was found at Deir 'Alla (Martin 1971: no. 1160b), one at Far'ah (S) (Tufnell 1984: 41), and possibly five, described as 'green stone', at Megiddo (Tufnell 1984: 42). At Byblos, the majority of scarabs found outside the royal tombs are made of 'paste' (Dunand 1937-9 e.g. nos. 1371–472, and *id.* 1958: *passim*). One example may be of jasper (Dunand 1937-9: no. 2385) as mentioned in the text above. For figurative scarabs from sites in Palestine see Keel (1989). Amethyst was the favoured semi-precious stone. In the Levant, such scarabs are found at Jericho, Far'ah, Ajjul (Tufnell 1984: 39), Barqai (Gophna and Sussman 1969: no. 14) and Pella (Richards 1992: no. 52). At Byblos, gold mounted scarabs were found in Royal Tombs I–IV (Dunand 1928: Pl. XCVI: nos. 642–3, Tomb I: no. 640; Tomb II: 642–3), Tomb III (?); Tomb IV: inscribed ex de Clercq 2671 (Martin 1971: no. 174a). It is not possible to tell from the publication whether the scarabs in Tomb II and III(?) were inscribed or not (presumably not, otherwise this would have been mentioned). The mount of the scarab from Tomb I may have been inscribed (Virolleaud 1922: 286: no. 6). Uninscribed amethyst scarabs may have been part of a series in the Levant (cf. Tell Ajjul: Tufnell 1984: 144). See also Weinstein (1992: notes 17, 18). Amethyst necklaces were found in the tombs at Byblos (Dunand 1928: e.g. nos. 623, 625, 639). Other titled Byblite scarabs no. 261 (BM 57383); no. 810 (BM 67024); Martin 1971: no. 262 (Ashmolean 1924.64) are of steatite.

Group C



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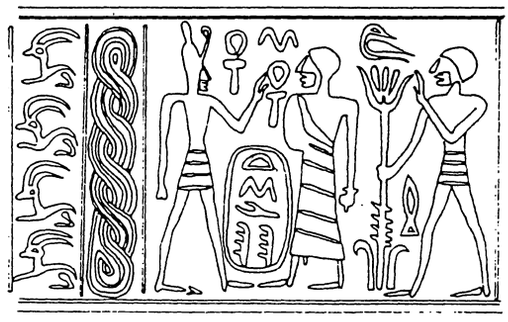

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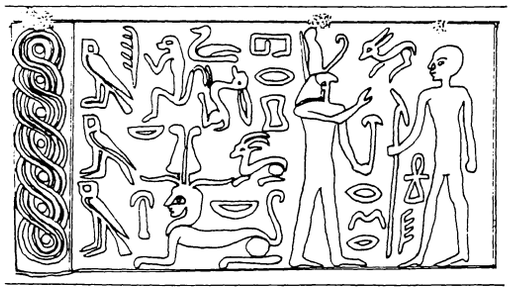

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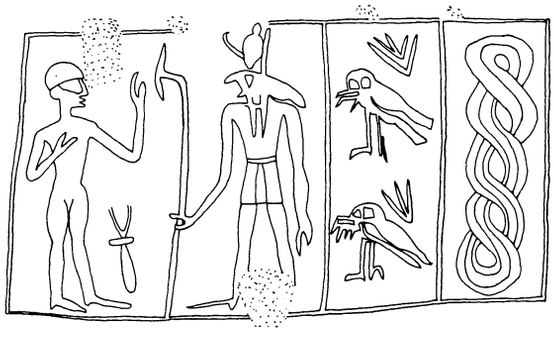

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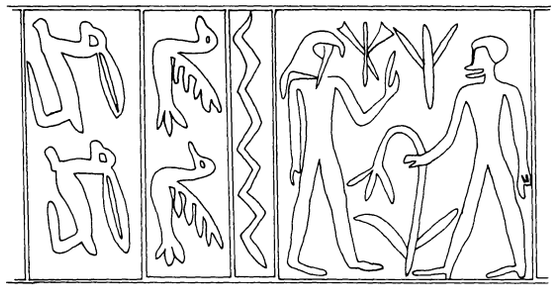

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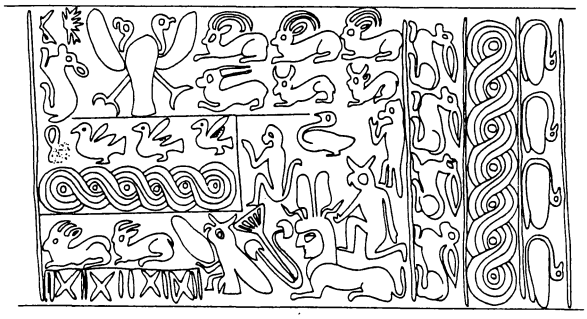
77

Group C



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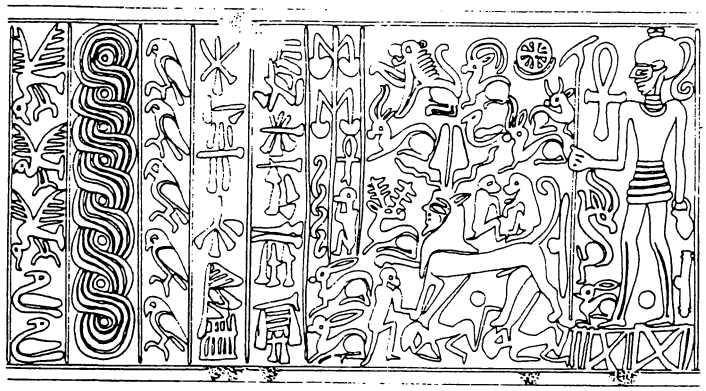

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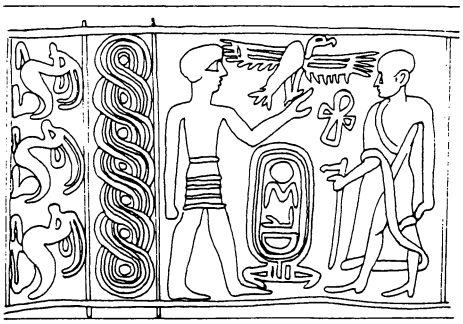

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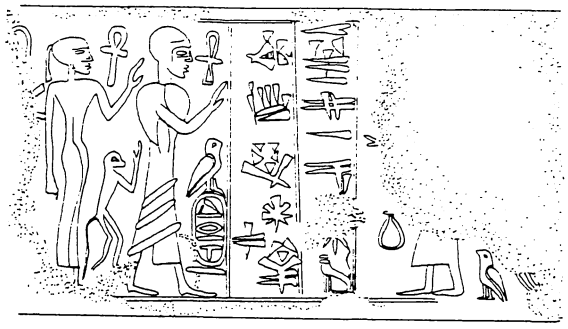

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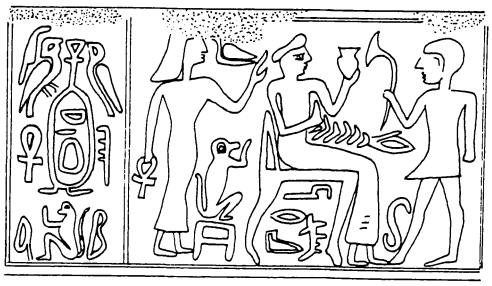

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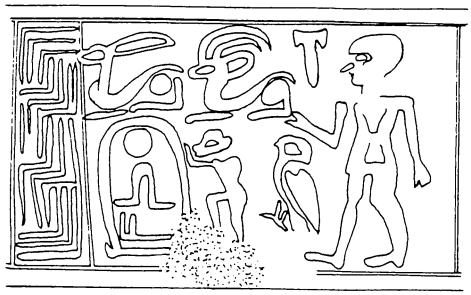

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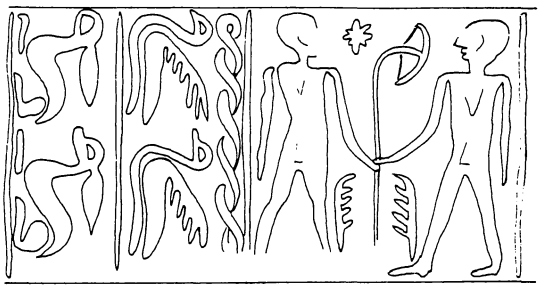

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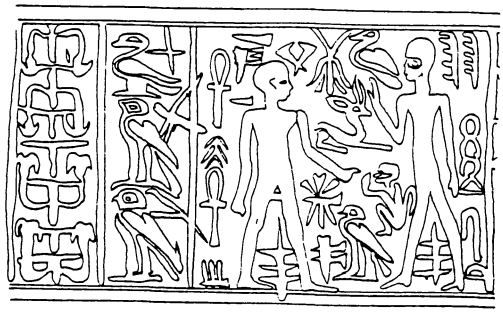

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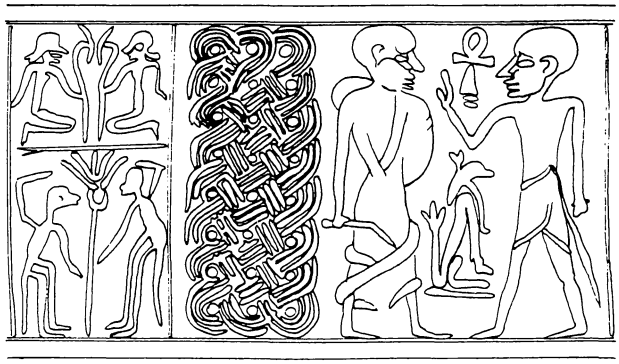


236

The principal question about the origin of this group of seals is whether the differences between them are substantial enough for them to have been made in more than one centre, but with shared traditions, or similar enough to have stemmed from one centre. Jasper, which is one link between the seals, was after all found as scarabs in more than one Levantine centre during the Middle Bronze Age (Keel 1989a and see note 14). Collon suggests a coastal Lebanese, and specifically Byblite, origin for some of the seals of the group, partly because of its Egyptianising iconography and partly because of the secondary dissemination of seals from this group to Cyprus, Crete and Carthage (Collon 1986a: nos. 5, 6, 22, 23). This requires qualification. First, not all the seals in this group are Egyptianising (e.g. Collon 1986a: 23, a Cypriot seal mentioned above) although most of them are; second, none of the seals have come from Byblos; and third, there is very little evidence at Byblos for the type of scarab to which this group is related (Dunand 1937-9: nos. 2835, jasper? and 1227; 1954: no. 8649). Yet central Levant remains a plausible area where two traditions – north Syrian and Egypto-Levantine – might have met to produce the earlier seals of the group. The differences in dress worn by the rulers on seals **77** and **217** (an open mantle with rolled borders) and the later seals (e.g. **61**, **62**: a wrapped mantle normally covering one arm) is surely significant and probably indicative of regional variation. Three of the seals in this group (**220**, **221**, **226**) come from Palestinian sites: Tell Beit Mirsim (**226**) and Tell Ajjul (**220**, **221**); there is also a late example from Jordan.[16] A fragmentary sealing seemingly made with a seal of the group was also found at Tell Aphek, out of context (Beck 1993: Pl. 125, 1a–c). Given these provenances and affinities with scarab iconography and hieroglyphs, some of the later seals of this group were probably made in central or south Palestine (see Chapter 3 and Teissier 1996 forthcoming) but this cannot be proved. It is worth noting with Collon (1986a: 63), that the seals found at Ajjul and Tell Beit Mirsim were not made of jasper but of more ordinary haematite and steatite. Seal no. **87** is difficult to place and date, for although made of jasper, it is stylistically and iconographically somewhat different from the others and has a purely cuneiform inscription.[17]

The later seals of this group (e.g. **60-2**) while Egyptianising, reflect an intrinsically south Levantine or Palestinian iconography and 'ideology'. Keel (1989a) suggested two places of origin for this group. I would favour more centres, in north-central Levant and Palestine, sharing cylinder and scarab traditions attributable to sustained contacts, perhaps based on trade routes (see note 4 for the dissemination of Syrian seals during Period IIA).

Workshop D: Alalakh (Period IIB)
6, 7, 8, 63, 81, 83, 92, 115.

The seals of this workshop, one of which (**83**) occurs on an envelope contemporary with Iarimlim III of Iamhad (Collon 1975: 158, no. 148), are notably small (*c.* 19 x 20 mm) and carved in an angular, schematic style, which accentuates details of dress such as flounces, kilts, uraei and crowns. The iconography usually includes one or more Egyptianising figures, usually the Pharaoh and/or the Egyptian goddess, standing or embracing, and associated with their Asiatic counterparts, the ruler and the suppliant goddess, or other deities. The field has none of the usual details which characterise Syrian glyptic: there is no terminal and symbols are minimal, but can include the *ankh*. The iconography of this group is partly derived from the formal ritual scenes of embracing and worship found on royal seals, but in the case of the Egyptianising figures it can refer to episodes from Egyptian temple rituals (e.g. embracing, etc.; see Chapter 4). This poor quality workshop best demonstrates the full integration at a popular level of the Pharaoh and the Egyptian goddess, not only with their royal Asiatic counterparts, but with deities less formally associated with royal patronage, such as the deity with a bow (e.g. no. **92**).

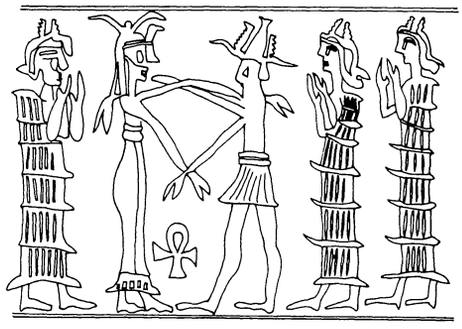
Workshop E: Alalakh (Period IIB)
228, 229, 230, 231. Related: 173, 209, 227, 232, 233

This group of seals, one of which (**228**) was contemporary with Niqmepuh of Iamhad (Collon 1975: 155, no. 164), are also small (*c.* 18–20 mm) and characterised by Egyptian floral decoration, such as lotus garlands. Their delicate carving and decorative character relate these to another group of seals, again found in the reign of Niqmepuh (Collon 1975: 155, nos. 161 and 165), which use mixed decorative motifs and which include

16 Ward (1964: 48–9: cylinder no. 1; Pl. 21, top left). This seal is not illustrated because a proper photograph could not be obtained and details from the original are not very clear. It was found in the Late Bronze Age temple at Amman and its distinguishing characteristic is again a feature found in IInd Intermediate period scarabs: a shrine with a hieroglyphic inscription. The hieroglyphs, as given in the publication are: *iri*, *mn* (inverted), *wꜣḏ*, *tꜣ.wy*, *ʿ* and *r*.

17 Included in this category is also Ashmolean no. 905 of which only an electrolyte impression survives. It appears to be of LBA date.

Workshop D



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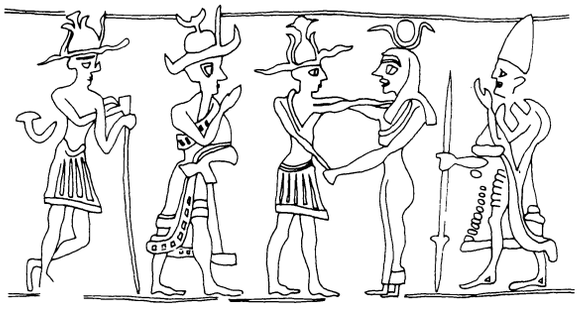

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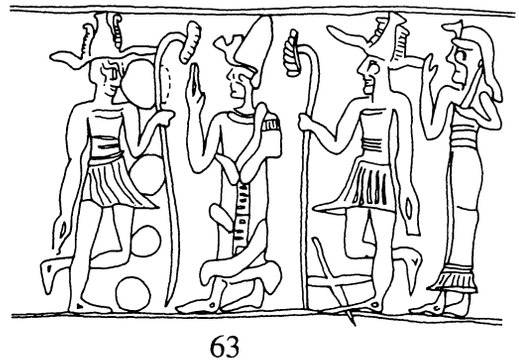
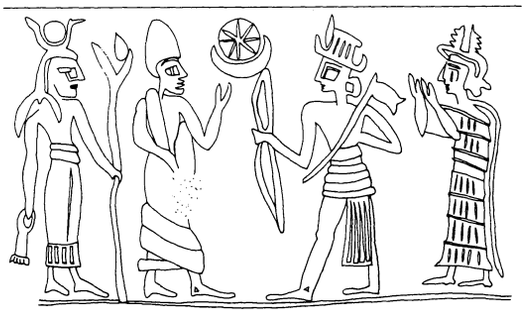


63



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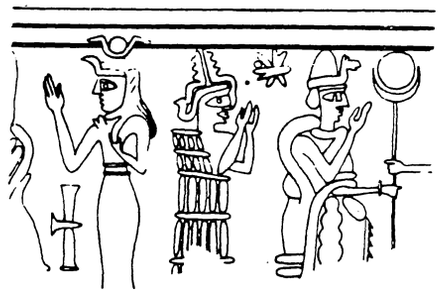
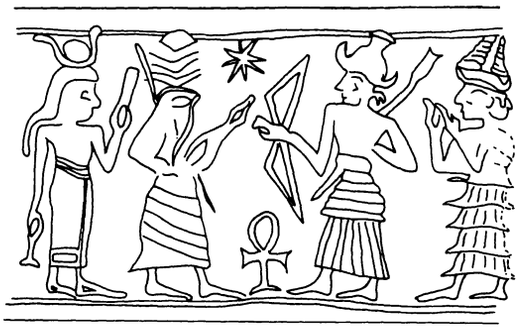


83



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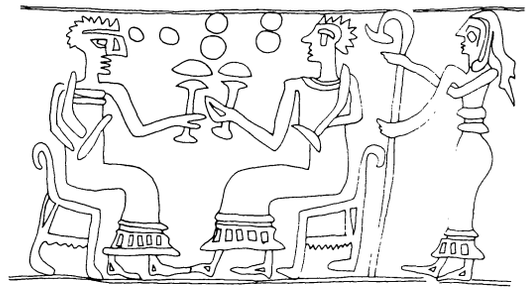
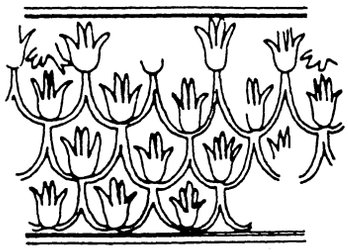
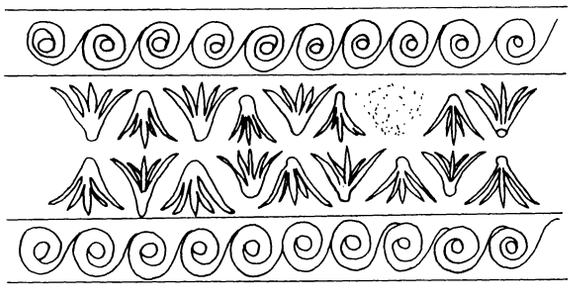


115

Workshop E



228



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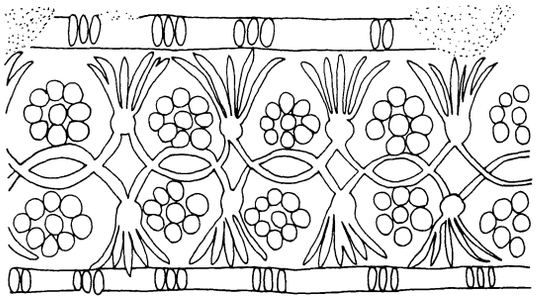

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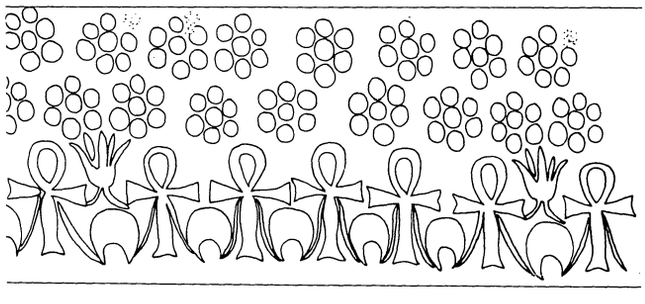

231

inscriptions (**173**, **209**, **227**, **232**, **233**), and to Group C. These seals do not use exclusively Egyptian motifs, but lotus buds, falcons and *ankh*s appear with scrolls and rosettes. The floral decorative group survived into the Late Bronze Age.[18]

The location of workshops clearly played an influential role in the absorption of Egyptian motifs into the Syro-Levantine repertoire, but even this was variable. The evidence of the north-Syrian workshops A, D and E clearly points to an integration of Egyptian figures and motifs into this repertoire, but with certain preferred or selected subjects. We do not know how each workshop came by its selection or manner of absorption, but the phenomenon cannot be attributed to 'schools' of Egyptian 'influence', for the degree of absorption of Egyptian subjects by these workshops is comparable to the rest of the seals in the corpus that cannot be assigned to workshops. Further, all the workshops, except possibly D, made seals that did not include Egyptian elements. Thus it appears that for Workshops A and E, subjects were selected or absorbed on the grounds of their relevance or suitability. Even Workshop D cannot be said to reflect a trend, for again its subjects were common to a whole range of stylistically different seals. Workshop B is different: it used Egyptian iconographical features such as kilts and double wings to complement its mannered, individual style rather than straighforwardly absorbing Egyptian subjects. Group C is exceptional: it answered more directly to Egypt, central and south Levant for its iconographical impetus. The result, however, was once more uniquely Levantine.

18 For example Kohlmeyer (1982: no. 108) from Ugarit.

3 OWNERSHIP

3.1 ROYAL SEALS

The incidence of Egyptian iconography on royal Syrian seals provides to date the best clue to Syrian royal attitudes towards Egypt. As we saw in Chapter 1, references to Egypt are entirely lacking from the Mari and Alalakh texts and in Syria Egyptian finds have been sporadic. In the Lebanon the situation is different: attittudes to Egypt are known from Byblos at least. The situation in Palestine was more ambivalent.

The evidence for Syria can only be used cautiously as the data is far from comprehensive. Not all Syrian royal seals are known to us, Syrian kings used more than one seal[1] and of the seals that are known not all are Egyptianising (see note 2). Non-Egyptianising seals from Carchemish, Mari and Leilan have already been mentioned (Chapter 2), and this also seems to have been the case with some (fragmentary) royal and governors' seals from Alalakh.[2] I shall return to this in the summary. The assessment of the significance of Egyptian or Egyptianising iconography on these seals is again limited, relying as it does only on a reasoned interpretation of symbols or figures purely from their context.

The seals below originate from north Syria, central Levant and probably Palestine, and show significant regional characteristics.

Levant: Period IIA (c. 1820–1740 BC)

Carchemish

186: *ma-at-ru-un-na* DUMU.MÍ *ap-la-ḫa-an-da* GEMÉ ^{d}*ku-ba-ba*
Matrunna, daughter of Aplahanda, servant of the goddess Kubaba

This royal seal of the daughter of Aplahanda, king of Carchemish, has been included here to demonstrate that by this period the winged sun disc could already be adapted to the winged rosette (Chapter 5). The seal's iconography otherwise shows a conventional ruler in a bonnet (Chapter 4) with the Suppliant goddess in a characteristic Carchemish style (cf. **247**).

Buzuran

136: KIŠIB *ia-uš* ^{d}IŠKUR LUGAL *bu-zu*$^{?}$*-ra-an*
Seal of Ia'uš-Addu, king of Buzuran (inscription written in reverse)

The destination of this seal was Buzuran, probably the kingdom near Mari known from the Mari texts (ARM XVI/1 9, 236), but the seal itself was almost certainly made in the Levant (Group C). It was either directly commissioned or, more probably, commissioned as a gift (see Chapter 1). The latter is suggested by the iconography and by the fact that the seal is made from obsidian. The former shows an apparently decorative, informal arrangement of mixed Egyptian and Egyptianising motifs (trampling sphinx, *was* sceptre, baboon, geese or ducks, *ankhs* and lotus) and Levantine/Syrian motifs (kilted figure with pony-tail, guilloche, birds, hares, lion, antelopes, 'ball-staff' etc.). This is in complete contrast to the formal iconographies of **77** and the seals of Iamhad, Tuba and Ebla below. These always represent the ruler with one or two patron deities. Royalty on **136** is implied otherwise: the trampling sphinx may have been intentionally used as a royal symbol (see Chapter 5). The pony-tailed figure may also have royal connotations, as such youths are often associated with rulers on Syrian seals and may represent heirs. Even though it is holding a *was* sceptre, this figure is nevertheless Levantine, as emphasised by the pot held in the left hand, possibly in lieu of an *ankh*. The obsidian of the seal implies added gift value, for, like amethyst, the material is very difficult to carve and is unusual for a cut seal.

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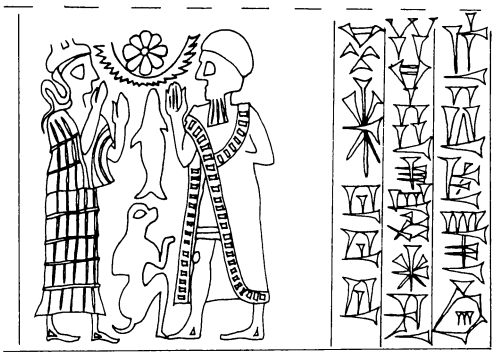
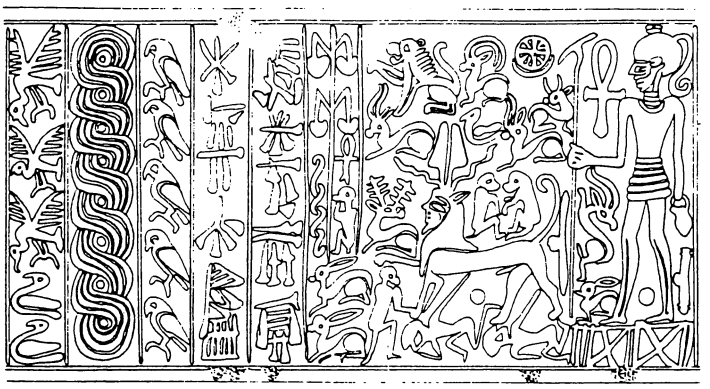
1 At Alalakh, for example: see Collon (1975, seal no. 4), possibly the second seal of Abban; fragmentary seals 7 and 8, both of Irkabtum son of Niqmepuh, king of Iamhad.

2 Royal seals: neither the possible other seal of Abban (Collon 1975: no. 4) or the seal of Iarim-Lim (III), son of Niqmepuh king of Iamhad (Collon 1975: no. 10) have Egyptian elements on them, but both are fragmentary. Governors' seals: the seal of Ammitakumma, son of Iarim-Lim, ruler of Alalakh (Collon 1975: no. 14). Again, not all this impression survives. See also the seals of Nahmi-Dagan SUKKAL (court official) of Niqmepuh (Collon 1975: no. 19) and of I-ni-Kubaba, servant of Iarim-Lim (II) (Collon 1975: no. 20).

Royal seals



186



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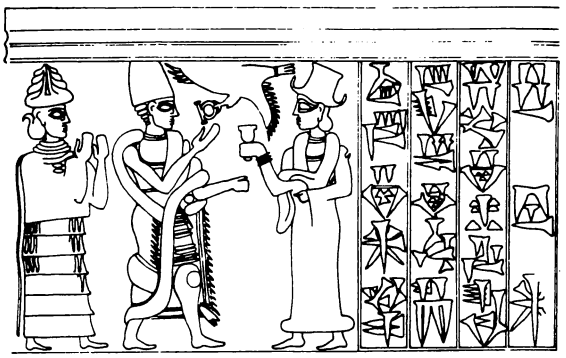

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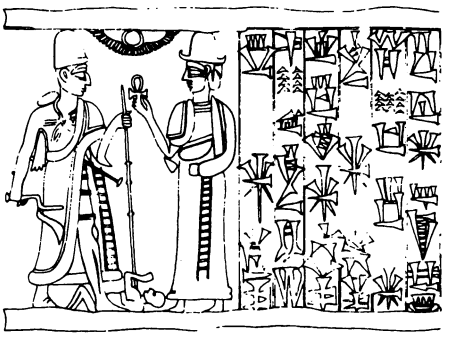

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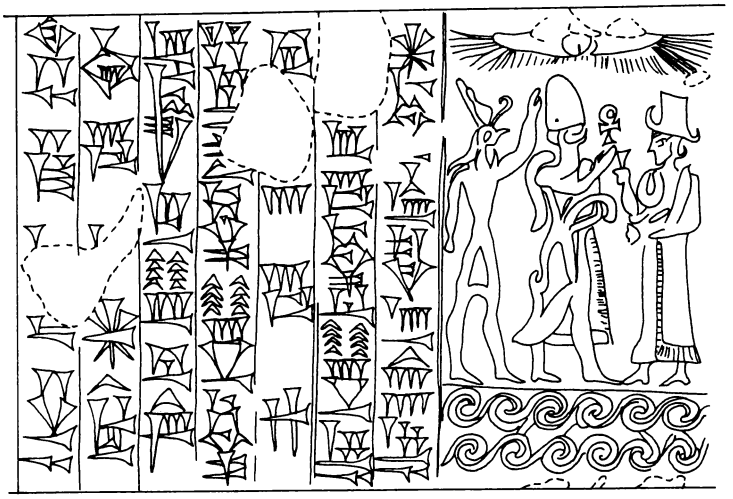


68

184

Syria: Period IIB (*c.* 1720–1600 BC)

Iamhad (but found at Alalakh)

175: *Ab-ba*-AN DUMU *Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi* LUGAL *Ia-am-ḫa-dum na-ra-am* ^{d}IM
Abban son of Hammurabi, king of Iamhad, beloved of the god IM
(see Collon 1975: no. 4 for another seal possibly belonging to Abban)

252: *Ia-ri-im-li-im* DUMU *Ab-ba*-AN LUGAL *ia-am-ḫa-ad na-ra-am* ^{d}I[M]
Iarim-Lim son of Abban, king of Iamhad, beloved of the god IM

253: *Ni-iq-mi-e-p*[*u-uḫ*] DUMU *Ia-ri-im-li-i*[*m*] LUGAL *Ia-am-ḫa-a*[*d*] *na-ra-am* ^{d}[*x*]
Niqmepuh son of Iarim-Lim, king of Iamhad, beloved of X

185: *Ab-ba*-AN LUGAL KALA(G).GA DUMU *Šar-ra*-AN ÌR ^{d}IM *na-ra-am* ^{d}IM *zi-ki-il-tum ša* ^{d}IM
Abban, the mighty king, son of Šarran, servant of the god IM, beloved of the god IM, devotee of the god IM
(possibly used as a dynastic seal by king Niqmepuh of Alalakh in Level IV)

Tuba

68: *ada*[*d*] *na-bi su-mi-ia* [EN](/)+ZU *ra-im ba-li-i*[*a*] *šu-*[*m*]*i-ra-pa* DUMU *i*[*a-r*]*i-im-li-im* LUGAL ^{āl}*tu-ba*
ki na-ra-[*a*]*m* ^{d}*Ištar* NA_4 KIŠIB N[A_4? KIŠI]B? ḪI.A
Adad who appointed me, Sin(?) who loves my reign, Sumirapa, son of Iarim-Lim, king of Tuba, beloved of Ištar, seal of seals (reading Amiet and Nougayrol 1972)

or

^{d}IM *na-bi šu-mi-ia* [*x x*]*-šu ra-im pá-li-ia su-mi-ra-pa* DUMU *ia-ri-im-li-im* LUGAL ^{uru}*tu-ba* ^{ki}
na-ra-am ^{d}*eš-tar* NA_4 KIŠIB [x x] ḪI.A
Adad who proclaimed my name, the .... who loves my reign: Sumi-rapa, son of Iarim-Lim, king of Tuba, beloved of Ištar, seal of ....s (reading S. Dalley)

Ebla

184: xxx son of king Indilimgur of Ebla (reading taken from Collon 1987: no. 545)

The seals in this group span from the early to the mid Period IIB. Those from Iamhad show a distinct stylistic development from a modelled style with thickset figures (**252**) to a more cursive style with slimmer figures from Niqmepuh onwards (**253**: Collon 1972). Seals **68** and **185** are dated to mid-IIB on this basis. Seal **184** is dated by the excavator to *c.* 1725 BC by its archaeological context (Matthiae 1969: 2, 35–7; 1984).

All the seals show an overall homogeneity of iconography: the ruler either stands between patron deities or facing them. There is only one deity on **185**, perhaps because of the length of the inscription (but cf. **68**), but also perhaps because of changing trends in local beliefs or through personal choice. Egyptian iconography on these seals, with the exception of **68**, is very restrained. It consists primarily in the offering or holding of an *ankh* by the patron goddess (**184**, **185**, **252**, **253**). On **175** the *ankh* is held by the Nekhbet vulture and on **68** the *ankh* is above the hand of the ruler: in both these cases the patron goddess holds a cup. The winged sun disc is found on **68, 184** and **185** but, as explained in Chapter 5, by this period it could no longer be considered to be an Egyptian symbol. The offering of the *ankh* is a gesture characteristic of the Egyptian royal cult, but on these seals the *ankh* is not offered or held in the Egyptian manner: it merely becomes a replacement for the cup (cf. **175** and **253**).

This is paralleled by another iconographic development, the gradual diminution (cf. **175** and **253**) and perhaps eventual elimination of the Babylonian goddess, as on **185**, from the seals of Iamhad and Alalakh. Seal **68** is so far the only one known from the kingdom of Tuba, now thought to be in east Iamhad, between Aleppo and the Balikh (Catagnotti 1992: 25). This kingdom is only marginally known from the Mari and Alalakh texts (Catagnotti 1992) and to date there is nothing from the records that hints at a special involvement with Egypt or Palestine. If the kingdom was indeed in east Iamhad, the seal's iconography, with the Egyptian god Horus apparently depicted as a royal patron, is very curious and unparalleled in other north-east Syrian royal seals so far known.

Three reasons for this iconography suggest themselves: the Egyptian god Horus came to have particular significance for Sumirapa who adopted him as a patron; the god Horus appears on the seal because of a sudden vogue or interest in this deity (cf. seal **69** from Alalakh below) or the god, while in the guise of Horus, represents a new type of patron deity. These uncertain interpretations are compounded by the fact that representations of Horus are rare in Syrian iconography (see Chapter 5). Interestingly, his iconography on Syrian seals, when not part of an Egyptianising scene but part of a Syrian one, is more true to the traditional Egyptian royal prototype

than in Levantine seals (e.g. Group C), where he is shown in a variety of guises. His representations on Syrian seals are too few for a pattern to emerge, but he appears as royal (wearing the double crown) and sometimes as patron god (cf. **69** from Alalakh below). The seal from Ebla, which shows the ruler before the Storm god as well as the Syrian goddess, and those from Iamhad, on the other hand, which show the Syrian goddess and the Babylonian goddess, demonstrate that patronage on royal seals varied locally. It it thus possible that Horus as an Egyptian god or Horus representing a different deity was adopted by Sumirapa as a patron. Why this was so remains a mystery: perhaps it was the result of contact with central Levant or Palestine (see below Group C seals), but it is surprising that this god should be included in the formal iconography of a royal seal just for his novelty or rarity value. Yet this particular king of Tuba, about whom nothing is known, may also have wanted to impress his contemporaries or mark his difference from them.

Central Levant and Palestine: Period IIA–IIB

77: *ḥ3tj-ʿ m3ʿ ḫtmw? nsw? [im3ḫw ḫr]*
Inpw nb [t3] ḏsr [imy] w[t] ...

Real mayor, King's sealer(?), [one honoured by]
Anubis, lord of the sacred [land, one who is in] the place of mummification, ... (reading J. Malek).

Comments by Malek (quoted from his forthcoming article for *Levant* with thanks): 'The person named on the seal was a local administrator or, if abroad, a local ruler confirmed in office by the Egyptian king. His name almost certainly followed the epithet connected with Anubis. In Egypt, such an emphasis on the god of the necropolis would point very definitely to a tomb context. One may, with all caution, suggest that a text appropriate for a funerary monument was quite skilfully, but somewhat misguidedly, inscribed on an object manufactured abroad (...). The titles suggest that a Middle-Kingdom (*c.* 2000-17590 BC) or even a late Old-Kingdom-First Intermediate Period (*c.* 2300-2000 BC) date for the original composition of the text which was subsequently incorporated in the scene on the seal is most likely.'

217: *r-n-ʿ-nb* (Gardiner 1978: Sign List: D21; N35; D36; S12) (Ward 1965: 37–40; Teissier 1990 for XIIIth Dynasty date)

Period IIB–III

61: *r?-n-ʿ-y-y* (first sign D21?; N35; D36; M17 twice)

62: *r-ʿ-?-?* in cartouche; in field above the cartouche, the goose or duck sign *s3* (G38, 39) part of the 'son of Re' titulary.

218: in cartouche: *?-r-?-?* (?; D21; -?-?); cuneiform in the inner register: *na-ra-am* ^{d}Iškur 'beloved of the god Iškur'; outer register: unread/illegible. An animal (Seth?) is at the bottom end of this register.

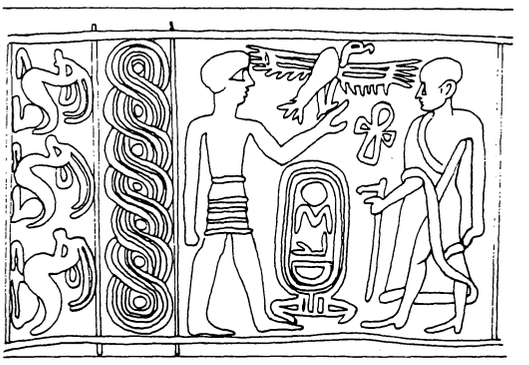
What is immediately striking about this group of seals is that the inscriptions are in Egyptian hieroglyphs, and in one case in both hieroglyphs and cuneiform (**218**).

Seal **77** has already been fully published (Collon 1972; Teissier 1990) but a new reading of its inscription by Malek requires an amended interpretation of its significance. The originally suggested Middle Kingdom/Middle Bronze IIA-B date for the seal (Teissier 1990) still stands, as does the discussion of the title *haty-a*, but the new reading, which eliminates the title *tm3* (and the name Seth), frees the seal from my originally suggested nomarchial associations. Two features make this seal exceptional and to date unique in Syro-Levantine glyptic: its funerary inscription and its highly Egyptianised iconography of a Levantine ruler between Montu and Khnum. What was its provenance, who was it made for and what was its purpose?

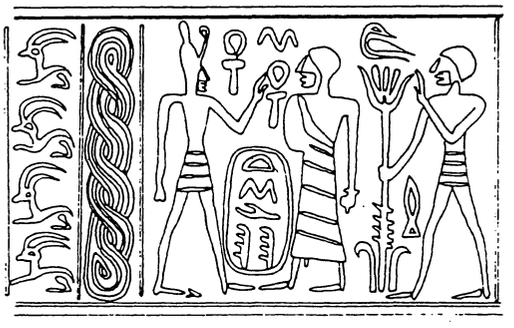
A provenance in the Levant is still undisputed because of the nature of the object (cylinder seal of a known Syro-Levantine type), its style (Group C), the iconography of the Levantine ruler and finally the writing of the inscription.[3] No place name is given in the inscription but the strongly Egyptianising nature of the piece obviously suggests a centre very closely linked to Egypt. Byblos has been suggested as a diffusion point for Group C seals, but, as argued in 1990 and in Chapter 2, there is no solid evidence to link the seals to this site, particularly as the rulers of Byblos used scarabs. According to Malek the name of the holder of the titles would have appeared at the bottom of the second column. Given that the name is missing, the ownership of this seal by an Egyptianised Levantine ruler is still more plausible than ownership by an Egyptian 'administrator' or 'prince' in the Levant, who would surely not represent himself as a Levantine ruler nor would have a funerary inscription

3 J. Malek notes the unusual tail of the Anubis animal, which is raised. This probably misled Schmidt (in Collon 1975) and Smith (in Teissier 1990) to read this sign as Seth.

77

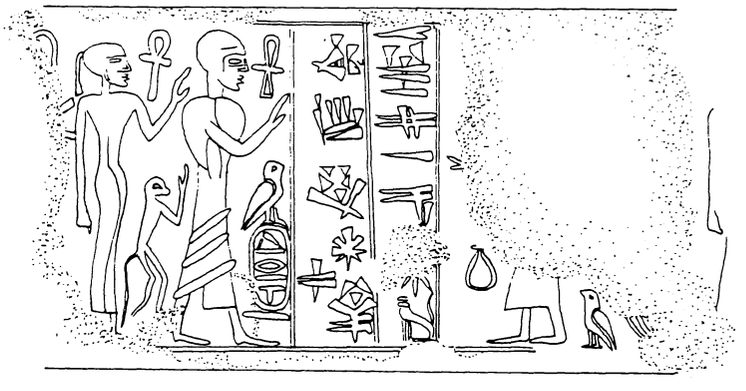


217



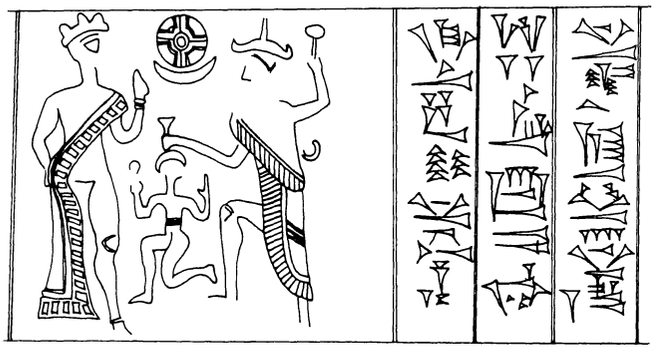
61

62

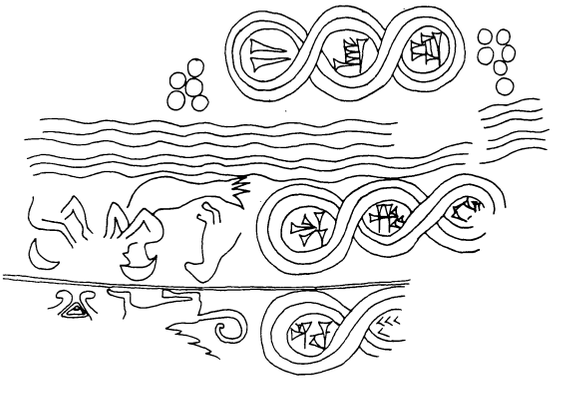


218

Seals of officials and others



247



148

characteristic of monumental art carved in idiosynchratic hieroglyphs on a cylinder seal. If we accept the piece at face value – that its iconography and inscription are contemporary[4] and that the inscription was not a random copy – a commissioned commemorative or funerary piece which sought to emulate Egyptian iconography and custom in a Levantine manner is the only explanation. The seal thus merges with the evidence, still only forthcoming from Byblos, of an élite which emulated Egyptian custom. It is possible that other centres in the Lebanon did the same and a central Levantine origin for this seal remains the most plausible. Malek suggests (above) that 'the person named on the seal was a local administrator or if abroad a local ruler confirmed in office by the Egyptian king'. This would not be compatible with the anomalies that still exist in the titulary (Malek comments to column 1: 'the most objective course of action probably is to admit that this group (of titles) on the Alalakh tablet at present defies acceptable interptretation'). A Palestinian origin for the seal should not be altogether dismissed, but is more remote on the basis of the present evidence of its contacts with Egypt during the Middle Bronze IIA-B (see Chapter 1).

The iconography of the seal also needs discussion. Why were such specific deities as Montu and Khnum chosen as patrons to the Levantine ruler? Montu is not to my knowledge represented elsewhere in the Syro-Levantine cylinder-seal repertoire[5] and representations of Khnum are rare (see Chapter 5). It is probably significant for the dating of the seal that Montu, whose cult centre in Egypt was the Theban nome, was particularly significant as a royal god in the early Middle Kingdom when he was adopted as the patron deity of the XIth dynasty, although he continued to be important for XIIth Dynasty kings. Khnum was an universal deity of major significance in Egypt: in the Middle Kingdom he had important cult centres in Middle Egypt. As so much of the iconographical record from Middle Kingdom Egypt is missing, it is difficult to assess how often these two deities would have been represented together. One Middle Kingdom compositional parallel for the seal is provided by a stela of Sesostris III: Khnum stands before the pharaoh offering him an *ankh*, while Montu is behind the king (Peterson 1968: 63–4) (**1o**).

The figure in the mantle on **217** closely resembles that on **77** and thus can also be identified as a ruler. A slightly more southern provenance for **217** is likely, however, on the basis of the signs in the cartouche. The identity of the mantled figures on **61**, **62**, **218** is not so certain: they could be rulers or officials. Here they are taken to be rulers on grounds of iconography (Schroer 1985; Beck 1983); their provenance is probably central or south Palestine, for reasons that will be developed below. The ownership of seals **61**, **62**, **217** can only be conjectured because the interpretation of the hieroglyphic signs within the cartouches is not straightforward. Given that the signs are in cartouches, an assumption that they spell personal names would be natural: indeed, Ward read the signs on **217** as a personal name (Ward 1965, accepted by Teissier 1990). Subsequent examination of the signs in the cartouches of **61**, **62**, **217** (including seal **220** below)[6], however, shows that the four contain the same elements (*r*, ʿ, *n*), sometimes in a different order and with variants (e.g. *nb* on **217**; double *y* on **61**). This combination of signs is very similar, as already mentioned (Group C), to the 'anra' hieroglyphic grouping particularly characteristic of the XIIIth Dynasty in Palestine (Richards 1992, D. Ben-Tor personal communication) – IInd Intermediate scarabs in Palestine, but still found in the New Kingdom (Hornung and Staehelin 1976: 168, 172, n. 5). (The signs on **218** are unintelligible, except for an ʿ). An essential difference between the scarab 'anras' and the writing in the cylinder-seal cartouches is in the representation of the sign *n*, which is a traditional hieroglyph on the cylinders but is represented as a horizontal bar with multiple vertical lines on most scarabs (Tufnell 1984: 121 and Pl. XVI, cf. esp. no. 1649).

On present evidence, therefore, it would seem that these signs could be interpreted as either; 1) names or titles that are essentially similar but with minor variants, that cannot be properly read as yet; 2) pseudo-names or titles; or 3) symbols or 'logos'. Interpretations 1) and 3) may be related. Are the signs to be given Egyptian values, or, given that these were not Egyptian seals, Semitic ones, or possibly a combination of the two? As stated, most Egyptian values read: *r*, ʿ, *n*. Why are the signs arranged differently and how are the variants to be interpreted: phonetically, symbolically, or both? Comparisons with contemporary (late MB) Proto-Canaanite or Proto-Sinaitic and later Phoenician/Hebrew scripts is tempting, but does not give more intelligible results.[7] Thus

4 There appears to be no signs of reworking in the inscription column, even though what remains of the original impression is very faint. It is worth noting in this context that Egyptian funerary inscriptions were not alien to the Levantine world, and are known, for example, from statuary (e.g. the nomarch Djehutihotep from Megiddo: Wilson 1941: Pls. I-III 227 ff.) and scarabs (Johnston 1977:141-2; D. Ben-Tor 1995).

5 I thank O. Keel for drawing my attention to the representation of Montu on a Palestinian scarab possibly dating to the MB IIB period (Wiese 1992: 195: C2).

6 My thanks to S. Quirke for checking these for me.

7 The values of the Proto-Sinaitic signs are still being debated. The values used here, and their Egyptian equivalents, which are based on acrophony, and their similarity to Phoenician letter and linguistic considerations are taken from Sass 1988 Tables 3-5.

for the sake of simplicity and until a convincing case is made for reading the signs as names, these will be referred to below as the 'anra' grouping. It is unlikely that such a persistent grouping of signs was intended merely to represent pseudo-names or titles or one name or title. Nor is it likely that the signs were totally insignificant (contra Giveon 1985): the signs themselves are not even particularly decorative. The same group of signs, however, could be a logo (phonetic or symbolic) signifying status, a social or ethnic group, a blessing, an invocation or even a combination of any of these.[8] The 'anra' group is very often associated with royal symbols on scarabs (Richards 1992: 31), and its association, within a cartouche, on these cylinder seals strongly supports the identification of the mantled figures as rulers (cf. nos. **73**, **220**, however).[9]

The differences between the royal iconography on these seals and on the Syrian one are striking. The Egyptian king is included, as is the Hawk-headed deity as patron, and the emphasis is on male iconography, with a notable absence of a female patron goddess. The iconography of the seals is also less canonical than in the north and thus more ambivalent. For example, the position of the 'Pharaoh' *vis-à-vis* the local ruler is not clear (cf. **61** and **62**). Almost nothing is known of the status of rulers in Middle Bronze Age Palestine, but the seals, which depict the Egyptian king and/or a Hawk-headed god as patrons, must be taken as reflecting the political ambivalence of central or southern Palestine with regards to its southern neighbours, as well as the partial cultural symbiosis with the Delta during the later MB IIB period and IInd Intermediate period, rather than Egyptian 'influence'. They also reflect individualism and a tradition adopted from the north. The making of cylinders in this area, which was traditional scarab territory, suggests northerly contacts, as do the Syrian motifs in the side registers and the cuneiform inscription on **218**, naming an originally Sumerian storm god, Iškur, the equivalent of Adad or Baal (Teissier 1996, forthcoming).

3.2 SEALS OF OFFICIALS AND OTHERS

Syria: **Period IIA**

Carchemish

247: *x-zi-ib-ta-x-(x)* DUMU *x-(x)-ra-a-*[*an*?] ÌR *ap-li-ḫa-an-*[*da/du*]
x, son of x, servant of Aplihanda (reading A. Millard in Teissier 1984)

most recent

aḫ-zi-ib-kar$_x$ *-kà-mi*[*s*] DUMU *na-ra-a-am* [AN] ÌR *ap-li-ḫa-an-da*
Ahzib-Kargamish, son of Naram-X, servant of Aplihanda (reading Durand 1987)

Mari

148: *ir/ni/x*?*-šu-um* ÌR *zi-im-ri*?*-li*?-[*im*]
x-šum, servant of Zimri-Lim (reading S. Dalley)

Syria:

202: KIŠIB *ḫa-am-mu-ra-pi ša* É *ni-ṣi-ir-tim*
Seal of Hammurabi of the Treasure House

Period IIB

Alalakh:

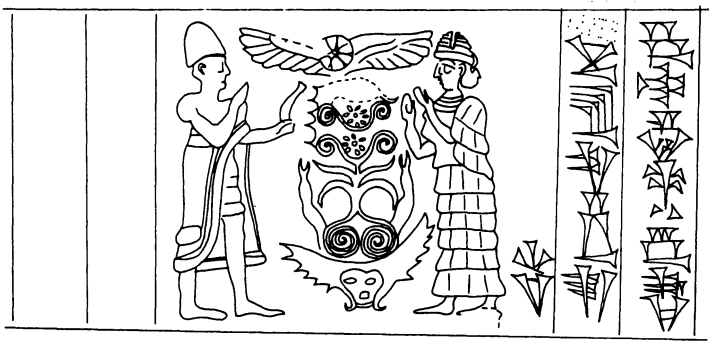
Al. 141: *sa-am-su*$_x$ (ŠU) ^{d}IM UGULA DAM.GAR DUMU *ir-pa-a-*[*du*] ÌR *ia-ri-im-*[*li-im*]
Samsu-^{d}IM, Chief Merchant, son of Irpadu, servant of Iarim-Lim
(Iarim-Lim II, Collon 1975: 152)

Al. 143: ÌR *ia-ri-i*[*m-li-im*] *ša* ^{d}IM x *zu-mi-a-*[*du*] DUMU *ab-du-da-*[*gan*]
Zumia[du], son of Abdu-Da[gan], servant of Iarim-Lim (Iarim-Lim II, Collon 1975: 78, no. 1)

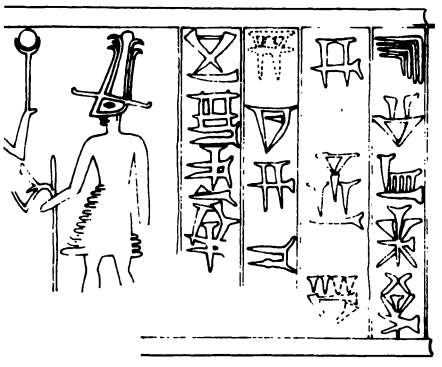
I thank P. Beck for this reference. The comparative values for the 'anra' signs would thus be: *ʿ-m* (or inverted *t*) *-y*.
See also Helck 1989 and Sass 1991 for Egyptian syllabic writing foreign words during the Middle Kingdom. Parallels with the psuedo-hieroglyphic script of Byblos (Hoch 1994) are not fruitful. I thank E. Marcus for this reference.

8 Current research by Fiona Richards, who is preparing a doctorate on the 'anra' group of scarabs, should greatly advance their interpretation. Knowledge of their distribution, for example, would help to confirm the provenance of some Group C seals. D. Ben-Tor believes to have found the Egyptian prototype for the 'anra' grouping (forthcoming). For the most up-to-date comments on this topic, see Richards 1992; see also Hornung and Staehelin (1976: 51–2).

9 It is important to mention that the 'anra' group also occurs with figures that cannot be identified as rulers e.g. Tufnell 1984: Pl. XVI: nos. 1713(?), 1717, 1762; Pl. XVII: no. 1797.

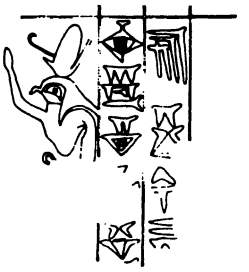


202

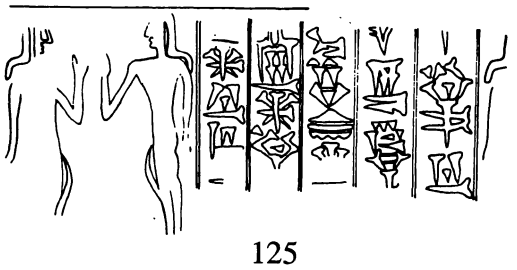


Al. 141

Al. 143

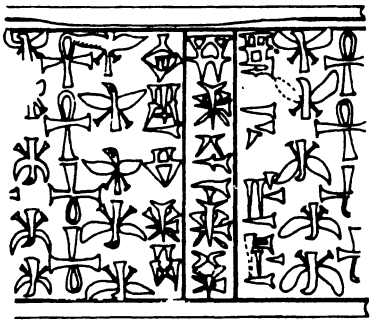


69



125

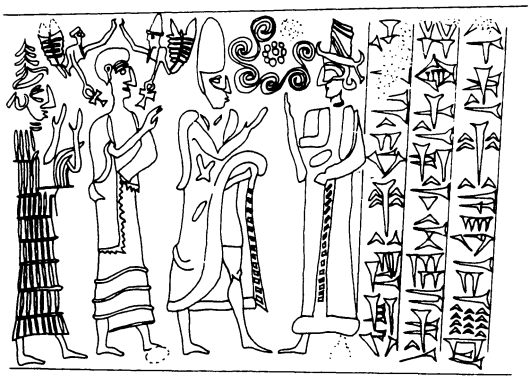
167



173

Al. 152

169



211

69: *sa-ap-ši-*[*a-du*] *na-ra-am* [^{d}]I[M]
Sapši[adu], beloved of ^{d}IM
(period of Iarim-Lim II: Collon 1975: 78, n. 1)

125: $^{d?}$IM-*ma-*[*lik*? x *ra-gu-*[x] *ḫa-am-mi-*^{d}[x *na*]-*ram* ^{d}IM ÌR? ^{d}*ba-*x [
xxxxx, beloved of ^{d}IM, servant? of X
(late IIB judging by the style)

167: [*i*]*a*?*-bi* [ ] [DUM]U *id-na-*[ ] [ÌR] *ia-ri-im-l*[*i-im*]
Ia?bi-[...], son of Idna-[...], servant of Iarim-Lim

173: *ia-tar-ma-lik* DUMU ^{d}UTU-*ši* ^{d}IM *na-ra-am* ^{d}*Ḫe*[*pat*]
Iatar-malik, son of Šamsi-Adad, beloved of Ḫepat
(Iarim-Lim III: Collon 1975: 76, n. 2, 161)

Al. 152: *sa-am-su-a-*[*du* x x x
Samsu-Adad

Syria

169: *a-ia-a-ḫu-*x *(i*?*/um*?*)* ÌR *ia-ri-im-li-im*
Aya-ahu(i/m?) servant of Iarim-Lim
(a late Iarim-Lim, judging by the style).

211: [*ši*?]*-ri-mu-a ša* GIŠ KIRI$_6$ DUMU *ki-ḫu-uš-ti-ia*?*-ri* ÌR *ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi*
Širimua, he of the garden (gardener?), son of Kihuštiari, servant of Hammurabi
(uncertain reading S. Dalley)

The seals in this group belong to various people, most of whom describe themselves as servants of a king. The professions of two of them are known: treasurer of an unknown north Syrian kingdom (**202**) and chief merchant and local dignitary (**Al. 141**) of Alalakh and his son (**173**). The father (Addi) of the owner of seal **69** was the governor of A(w)iraše, presumably in the vicinity of Alalakh. The iconography of this miscellaneous group of seals is, unsurprisingly, varied and shows both the inclusion and adaptation of Egyptian motifs and figures.

247 from Carchemish is shown here because even though it is not overtly Egyptianising, it shows a combination of Mesopotamian and Egyptian iconographies. The trampling and ascending stance of the Weather god or ruler is ultimately Akkadian and north-west Mesopotamian, whereas the enemy grasped by the hair, whose head is turned towards the aggressor, was ultimately Egyptian (see Chapter 5). It is unlikely, however, that by this stage the Egyptian aspect of the enemy was depicted intentionally or even recognised. The Hathor head (reversed) on **148** from Mari is so far exceptional in the published glyptic from that site (see Chapter 2). The iconographies of **169**, **202, 211** and the seals from Alalakh are familiarly west-Syrian, with Egyptian symbols (e.g. adapted Hathor head, *ankhs*, Horus falcon, Nekhbet vulture, head on a pole) in the field, arranged in rows (**173**) or Egyptian and Egyptianising figures once part of a scene with other figures (**69**). The arrangement of figures on **167** and **169** is similar to that of the royal seals of Iamhad discussed above, but on **167** and **169** it is the secondary secular figure (the owner of the seal or 'servant of the king'?) who holds the *ankh* (cf. the genii on **211**) in lieu of the Syrian goddess, who holds a cup. The iconography of the central motif on **202**, which shows a conflation of Syrian and Egyptian concepts (the Syrian tree of life/ Hathor as tree goddess) is unique. Unfortunately, the context of the Egyptian and Egyptianising Pharaoh on **Al. 141**, **69** and of the miscellaneous Egyptianising figures on **125** cannot be assessed because the sealings are incomplete. On seal **69**, Horus has the same protective stance as on the seal of the king of Tuba.

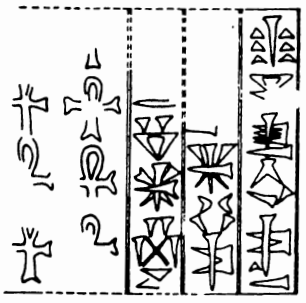
3.3 MISCELLANEOUS OWNERS

Syria: Period IIB

Alalakh

209: *Mu-*x*-na*?*-ri* [ ] x ^{d}IM [*na-r*]*a-am* ^{d}*Ḫe-pa*[*t*]
Munari x x x -^{d}IM beloved of Ḫepat

233: ^{f}*zi-im-ra-*A[N] GEMÉ *ia-pa-a-*^{d}IM *na-ra-am-ti* ^{d}NIN.É.GAL
Zimran, wife of Iapa-Adad, beloved of ^{d}NIN.É.GAL



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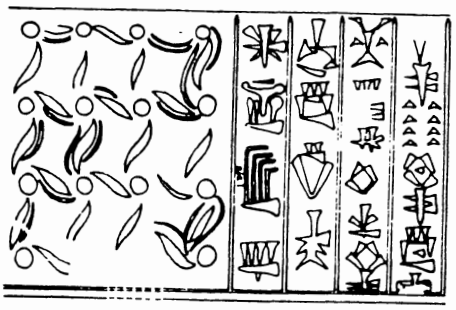

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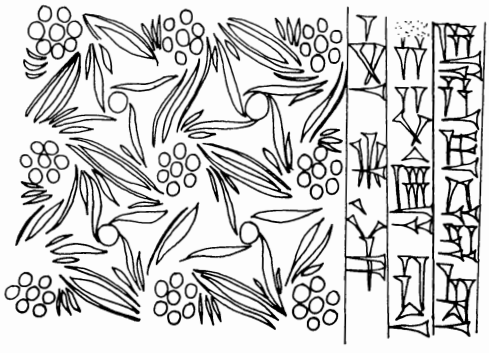

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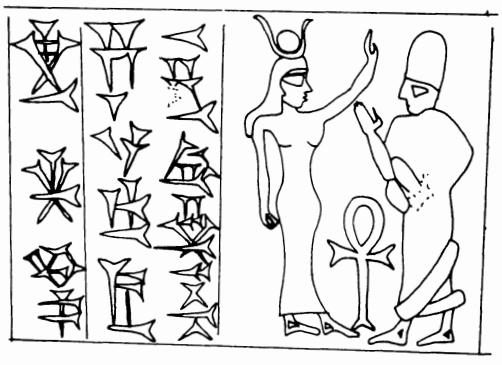

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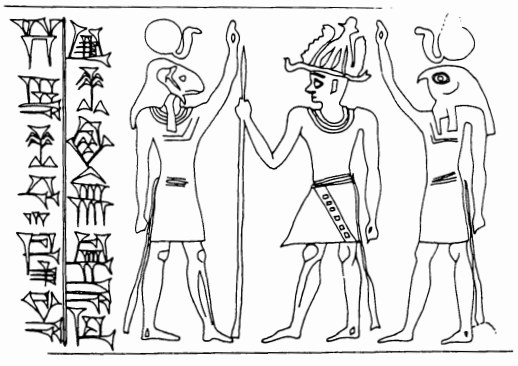

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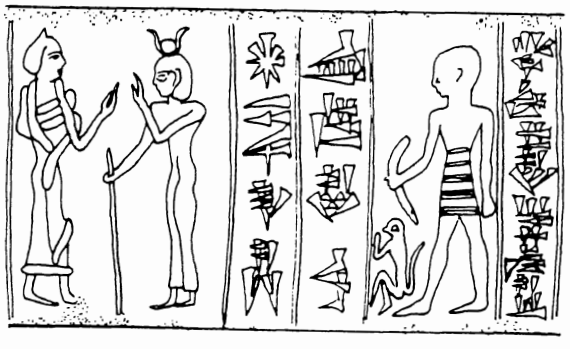
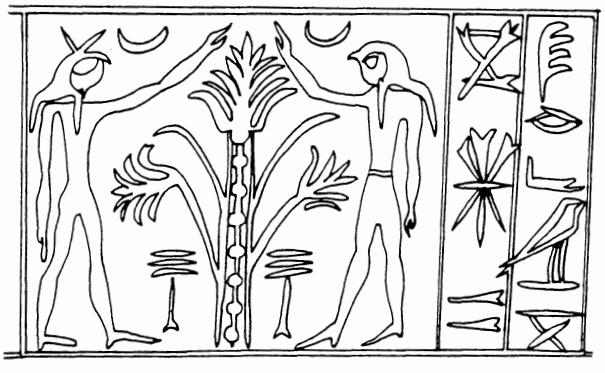
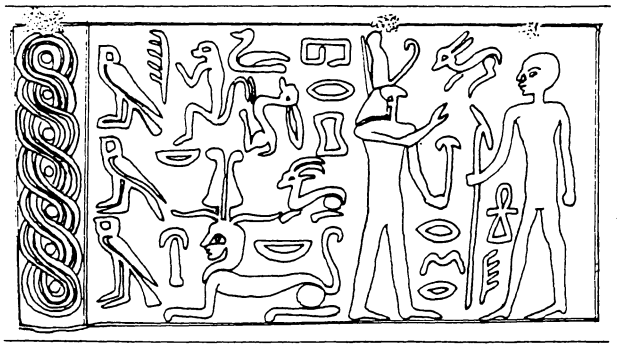


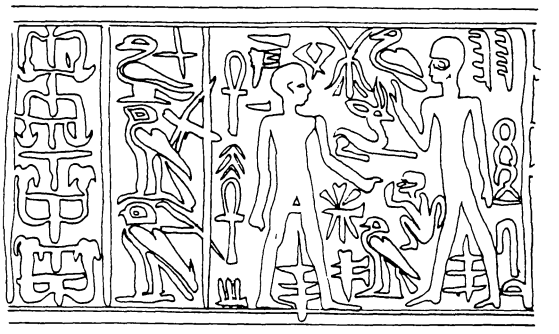
87



73



71



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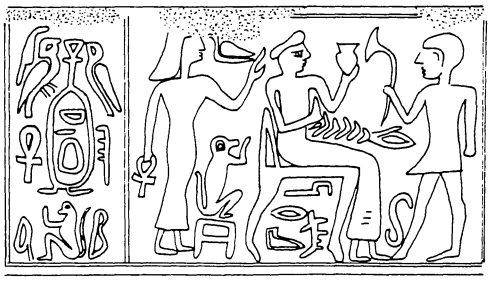

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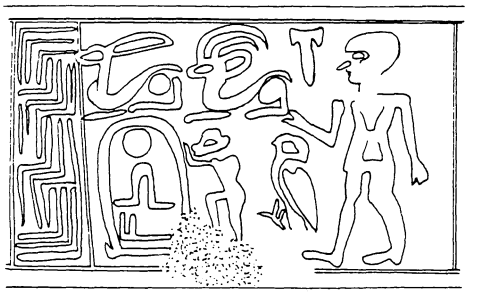

220

Syria

232: *ia-ab-lu-uṭ-e-da* DUMU *am?-mi-a-du* ÌR ^{d}IM
Yablut-eda son of Am?mi-adu, servant of the Weather god (reading S. Dalley).

79: *ab-di-il-ti* DUMU *aš-tar-ma-lik* ÌR ^{d}IM
Abdi-ilti, son of Aštar-malik, servant of the Weather god (reading S. Dalley)

Very little can be said of the general ownership of Egyptianising seals on the basis of present textual and prosopographical evidence, which at the moment is limited to north Syria. The seal impressions from the Alalakh archives belong to small envelope fragments and comparatively few of the impressions can be assigned to owners (Collon 1975: 154). On the one envelope dated to Niqmepuh, where four Egyptianising impressions occur (**173**, **204**, **233**, **Al. 141**), only one (**233**) is assignable to a witness in a division of property case, who has an Amorite name, Zimran (Collon 1975: 156, no. 161; Wiseman 1953).[10] The Egyptianising seals at Alalakh are used concurrently with others and in the same manner (Collon 1975: 155–60): there is no evidence to suggest that such seals were the monopoly of a specific group or groups of people. The ruler patronised by the Egyptian goddess on **79** is indisputedly of a north-Syrian type, and it is because the seal is not a royal one that such a patroness is represented.

Syria-Levant: Period IIA/IIB

1: *su-mu am-mi(-)ka-a-da?* DUMU *ia-mu-ud-ra-bi?-a*
Sumu x x x son of Iamud x x x-a (uncertain reading S. Dalley)

87: KIŠIB ^{mi}*ḫa-si-am-ia-pa-ḫa-at na-ram-ti* ^{d}*a-ši-ir-tum*
Seal of ^{f}Hasiam-iapahat, beloved of ^{d}Aširtum

10 The seals of ^{f}Zimran (**233**) and Mu-x-na?-ri (**209**) also occur together on a fragmentary envelope: ATT/39/153 (Collon 1975: no. 166).

Palestine: Period IIB-III

73: Cuneiform: left hand register: ? - DINGIR - ?. Hieroglyphs: right hand register: *y* (M17), *r* (D21), *ʿ* (D36); the hawk could be read as *ỉ* (G1); *tyw* (G4) or *Ḥrw* (G5). The sign below the hawk is spurious.

71: Hieroglyphs vertically from left to right: *y* (M17); *nb* (S 12 'gold'); lotus or *ḫȝ*? (M12? 'thousand'); above the sphinx *nb* (S12); group behind Horus' crown: *h - r - ?* (spurious sign) (O4; D21; ?); group by Horus' legs *r - n - r* (D21; N35; D21); by the leg of the figure holding the *was* sceptre: an *ankh* and a *y* (M17).

226: Cuneiform in front of the figure on the left: DINGIR and incomplete *im*?; in the sky: *ib* (with missing elements?), *ni*?.[11] Hieroglyphs vertically behind the right-hand figure: *y - y - ḫ - s - t* (M17; M17; V28; S29; X1 'praise' preceded by double *y*). Between the legs of the figures: *n*? (N35? but written similarly to IInd Intermediate period scarabs, see above) or branch; below the *ankh* on the left *n*? (N35?).

219: below the throne: reversed *ʿ* (D36) or *ni* (the arm with the palm facing upwards D41); comb like *n* (N35) with the added element *b* (D58) or *k* (N29). Register: behind the hawk: *šw* (the feather H6), behind the monkey *pḏt* (the bow T10), in front of the monkey? Cartouche: possible *nb* with spurious signs. To left of cartouche *ankh,* to the right *y*.

220: Hieroglyphs in cartouche: *r - n*? - *ʿ* (D21; N35?; D36); by the head of the standing figure lotus, *dḥr*? (determinative for cowhide D27, D28) or *mr*? (chisel V23).

Little can be derived from this group of seals, as the status of the owners is not known. Seal **87** belongs to a West Semitic woman and her patroness, the goddess Aširtum (a variant of Astart, found in the personal names of Tell el-Amarna: Hess 1993: 235), is mentioned in the inscription: this femininity is further compounded by the iconography, which represents a goddess in a Hathor crown. The highly Egyptianised iconography of **1** suggests a Levantine origin and seals **73-220** belong to or are related to Group C.

The ownership of seals **71, 73, 219, 220, 226**, two of which have cuneiform as well as hieroglyphs on the same seal (**73, 226**) can only be surmised, for even though a number of the signs on the seals are grouped in a non-random manner in the field, in registers or in a cartouche, to be partly read as inscriptions, they do not obviously spell personal names (but see note 11). The hieroglyphs on **73, 220** and before Horus' legs on **71** are already familiar from the 'anra' group discussed in connection with seals **61, 62, 217** above, albeit the signs on **220** are very crude, particularly the *n* (N35). Seal **73** has the already-known reed or *y* variety (M17 and see below). Two other groups of hieroglyphs can be understood: a blessing 'praise' can be read phonetically in Egyptian on **226,** but does not have the traditional determinative, and possibly the name *h-r* (followed by a spurious sign), but not spelt in the Egyptian way, on **71**. If the *h-r* is to evoke a god name such as Horus, it is interesting to note that the hawk in the register on **73** could also be read as *ḥwr*: these may have been attempts to refer to the Hawk-headed god represented on the seals.

Thus hieroglyphs were used for multiple purposes on Group C and related seals: a possible actual blessing in Egyptian; attempts or aspirations to write names (e.g. **71, 73, 219**); as a 'logo' ('anra'); as symbols (e.g. *nb* 'gold'); as syllables and/or decorative elements (the reed M17-*y*); as decorative elements (the goose *gb*/G38 or duck sign G39/*sỉ*); and spuriously (the signs below the hawk on **73** and below the *r* on **71**). The reed or *y* sign was popular (**60, 62, 71, 221, 226**), whether single or double, and whether associated with the 'anra' group or not.[12] The *y* is also paired with the *ankh* sign (**62, 71**) as is the *n* water sign (**61**). The use of cuneiform is idiosynchratic and inconsistent, but is too rare for proper assessment of its function on Group C seals. A partially correct inscription occurs on **218**, other signs seem random (but see note 11) (Teissier 1996, forthcoming).

The ownership of these seals is also difficult to assess from their style and iconography. Seals **71, 73, 220** carry the 'anra' 'logo' (in a cartouche on **220**), yet the quality of **220** does not suggest ownership by a person of status, whereas that of seals **71** (cf. **136** Buzuran) and **226** does. The seated figure holding the vessel on **219** may be a ruler, but this iconography is remote from that of the other rulers on Group C seals.[13] The cartouche with the

11 S. Dalley suggests that the group of cuneiform signs on this seal may have been an attempt to write the personal name Ibni-^{d}Adad.

12 The single reed in MK Egypt was used to transliterate Semitic *ỉȝ* or *y*; two reeds represent a vowel and *ỉȝ*; three reeds may be read as *ya* or *yi* (Sass 1991:18–19).

13 The iconography of the seated figure holding a vessel is reminiscent of traditional Mesopotamian iconography showing the deified ruler holding a cup (e.g. Collon 1987: no. 535), yet it also evokes a series of seals from LBA Ugarit showing banquet and other scenes with seated figures (Amiet 1992b: nos. 204–24).

spurious signs may also evoke ruler iconography (cf. e.g. **61**, **217** but also **220**). Of greater interest is to speculate what language(s) the owners spoke and understood; whether they were multilingual (Canaanite, West Semitic, Egyptian) and what their concept of script was. In central and south Palestine some elements of the population probably did speak Egyptian (see Introduction). These seals show signs that, albeit derived from both Egyptian and west-Semitic cuneiform, appear to have been used as much symbolically as phonetically (Teissier 1996, forthcoming).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The royal and officials' seals discussed above are an unknown percentage of the total of such seals and consequently of the number of royal and officials' seals that are not Egyptianising.

The Syrian royal seals of Iamhad and Ebla are only indirectly Egyptianising. Egyptian subjects are limited to symbols, which essentially consist of a proffered *ankh*. Seals which include Egyptian deities as patrons are very rare: Horus or another deity in the guise of Horus is included in a Syrian context on the seal of Tuba. This is so far unparalleled and not easily explained in north-Syrian royal glyptic. The Mesopotamian Suppliant goddess is the 'foreign' deity who, at least on the earlier Iamhad seals, has prominence with the Syrian goddess. It is worth noting that although the figure of the Egyptian king occurs with Syrian rulers on the seals of officials (e.g. **Al. 141**, **143**) and ordinary Syrian seals (e.g. **45–51**), it is never found on a royal seal. Neither the use of Egyptian symbols, including the proffered *ankh* nor the patron deities, are confined to royal seals: such subjects occur on officials' seals (e.g. **167**) and on numerous others with no inscriptions. The *ankh* was an almost ubiquitous motif in Syrian glyptic, and on royal Syrian glyptic it merely became a substitute for or an accessory to the cup held by the goddess: it cannot be interpreted as an emulation of an Egyptian ritual. Officials' seals show a more varied Egyptianising iconography, but from the present sample no argument can be made for a particular group of functionaries using Egyptianising iconography selectively. Seals **Al. 141** and **173**, which belong to an important merchant family, are both Egyptianising but iconographically they are very different and can be compared to others that are not inscribed and may have belonged to ordinary people. Thus, while Egyptian iconography had no impact on the royal glyptic of north-east Syria up to Iamhad, in Iamhad it existed at least from Period IIB onwards, but was not given a special place (with the exception of Tuba and the seal of the king of Buzuran, a gift). On the contrary, it appears to have been given less prominence than in the glyptic of functionaries and of others.

In the Lebanon and Palestine the situation was different, but again the evidence is limited to a handful of seals. The strongly Egyptianising iconography of **77**, for example, can be attributed to Egyptian cultural influence in central Levant. Yet other seals of Group C with a probable Palestinian origin (e.g. **61**, **62**) reflect the ambivalent political and cultural status of MB IIB Palestine with regards to Egypt and the Delta rather than 'Egyptian influence'.

4 INTRODUCTION TO SYRIAN ICONOGRAPHY

A study of the impact of Egyptian iconography on Syrian glyptic cannot be attempted without first addressing the nature of Syrian[1] glyptic iconography of the Middle Bronze Age as a whole. This survey is not intended to be a comprehensive analysis, but merely an introduction to the subject and its problems. The analysis[2] spans provenanced and unprovenanced glyptic from all regions of Syria,[3] irrespective of workshops (see Chapter 2).

Its main result is to show that even though the Syrian cylinder-seal repertoire of the Middle Bronze Age was one of the most varied and eclectic in all the ancient Near East, it was also coherent and integral, both compositionally and iconographically.

4.1 COMPOSITION

Balance and order are two prominent characteristics of classical Syrian glyptic (Periods II and III), irrespective of style and workshop: Syrian seals can be filled with motifs but rarely appear confused. There are exceptions, but these are rare. In figurative representations the sense of balance was most frequently achieved by making the eye focus on the centre of a seal, where the main figures of the scene were grouped, primarily by flanking these with a subsidiary scene or with motifs, often divided into an upper and a lower level (terminal) (e.g. **35**, **39**). Terminals can consist of slightly diminutive figures, for example, who form a separate unit with a decorative motif above and below, superimposed animals or vertical decorative registers. These figurative terminals replace the space traditionally reserved for inscriptions in Near Eastern glyptic: in Syria these are minimal, except for royal seals (see Chapter 3). The favoured numbers for the central scene were three figures (44 per cent), a more dynamic balance than a group or groups of even numbers. Two figures come a poor second (28 per cent)[4] and here the eye is usually drawn to the middle by a central vertical motif, such as a tree, a standard or a laden offering table. Figures are normally turned inwards, facing each other, rather than following each other in rows, which again centres the eye. In scenes that do not have a terminal of some kind or a major central motif but occupy the whole ground of the seal, such as chariot scenes or scenes with animals and 'shepherds' (e.g. **222**), a sense of balance is achieved by spacing or superimposition (e.g. **134**). With mostly decorative subjects this is achieved by dividing motifs into horizontal or vertical rows, for example, (e.g. **227**, Chiha 281), or groups of subjects sometimes arranged at an axis to one another (e.g. Marcopoli 557). It is clear that different workshops had different idiosyncracies or formulae to achieve this sense of order, but this is not the place to explore this. What must be emphasised is that Syrian seal-cutters had conventions for arranging their subjects, which foreign influences (e.g. Mesopotamian or Egyptian) sometimes touched on but, except in very rare cases (e.g. **5**), did not supersede.

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1 This broadly encompasses present day Syria: from the north-east to the Levantine coast down to Damascus (but see note 3 below).

2 The assessments in this chapter are based on the analysis of the composition and associations of figures occurring on 691 published cylinder seals of the classical period (II and III: see Chapter 2) of Syrian glyptic. The percentages quoted are based on ordinary numerical counts and are approximate: the figures were not subjected to any statistical analyses, which make provisions for errors and distortion due to the non-availabilty of data. This basic approach was considered sufficient for the purposes of this introduction.

3 The study of regionalism in Syrian glyptic, while potentially very fruitful, has been seriously hampered by the lack of provenanced glyptic from all parts of Syria and the concentration of material from the north (Chapter 2). Studies on workshops (Collon 1982a, 1985, 1986a; Chapter 2) and on royal seals (Chapter 3) have gone some way to advancing the subject. A study by Nagel and Eder has attempted to isolate 'Lebanese' from 'Syrian' (north and central Syria) glyptic (1992: 23–7, 29–32, 34). This has been done on purely iconographic and intuitive grounds: isolating motifs such as chariot scenes, combats with warriors and bull-leaping and assigning them to Lebanese influence emanating north and east from the area of Beirut to Hama (*ibid.*: 6, 29). Attempting to distinguish coastal from inland glyptic is very worthwhile, as would be a closer study of some of the motifs they propose (e.g. the warriors). Yet the Beirut-Hama 'school' of glyptic (Ugarit appears to have been ignored in this model) remains not only hypothetical because of the lack of provenanced material or external complementary data, but because the study of such motifs cannot be attempted without assessing their integration into varying styles of Syrian glyptic (which themselves are regional), as well as isolating certain workshops, which may have had a western origin.

4 The rest are formed by groups of 1, 4–7 figures. Groups of 1, 6, and 7 figures constitute less than 1 per cent of the total.

4.2 THEMES

The overwhelmingly dominant themes of Syrian glyptic of the Middle Bronze Age are scenes of worship and/or ritual (85 per cent). Within this category, a striking number of scenes (71 per cent) feature figures who can be identified as kings or rulers,[5] often in groups of two or three, with or without accompanying deities or miscellaneous figures. Deities on their own or deities with miscellaneous figures constitute only a small group (14 per cent). Other types of scene, such as chariot scenes, scenes with animals and 'shepherds', and decorative and miscellaneous scenes, constitute the rest. The significance of this high count of rulers, which includes aspects of the Egyptian king or Pharaoh (4.77 per cent) (Chapter 5), is discussed below. Deities most often represented belong to a comparatively small group, and they themselves only fall within a comparatively low frequency range (5–8 per cent): e.g. a Nude goddess (8 per cent), the Syrian and Babylonian goddesses (6 per cent); the Storm god (5.9 per cent) and the Winged and armed goddess (5.35 per cent). Many other deities occur, but these are miscellaneous with very low counts.[6] Egyptian deities, of which more below, feature among the low counts (e.g. the Egyptian goddess (Hathor head-dress): 2.17 per cent; Horus: 1.30 per cent; a lion-headed god: 0.14 per cent). Further, there are many miscellaneous subjects (e.g. the Syrian woman, unidentified bare-headed male figures, warriors, marching men, nude heroes, animal-headed beings, etc.) which occur with the main figures mentioned above. Of these it is worth noting the comparative popularity of winged figures, both human and animal, and of hybrid creatures, such as bull-men/demons and hawk-headed beings (other than Horus).

4.3 ASSOCIATIONS AND ELEMENTS OF COMPOSITION

This is not the place to investigate in detail the multiple associations between subjects in Syrian iconography. My attempt rather is to indicate briefly whether any patterns of association can be found among the principal subjects of the ritual/worship scenes already mentioned, or in other words whether such key figures can be said to have a 'circle' of associations. Here, the degree of frequency of association (high count) is the determining factor. The extent to which rare or single associations (low counts) may have been random in the sense of indiscriminate, rather than discriminate, is often impossible to tell. Even if such visual analysis is crude, the lack of complementary sources directly relating to Syrian glyptic iconography leaves us no choice. The relevance and association of terminal scenes to the main scene will be looked at separately below. This brief evaluation of patterns of association between subjects in the main scene, and between the terminal and the main scene, is relevant both for the types of Egyptian subjects incorporated into the Syrian repertoire and for the manner of their incorporation. Associations with and between Egyptian and Egyptianising figures is discussed in Chapter 5.

The associations of the two principal types of ruler or king – the ruler with the high oval head-dress (HO), characteristic of north-west Syria, and the ruler in the bonnet (B), characteristic of north-east Syria (see note 5), will be a primary example. Differences exist both in the range and the intensity of their associations, some of which are shared. The HO ruler has a narrower range of associations than the B ruler: he is primarily associated with the Syrian and the Babylonian goddesses, followed by the Storm god, the bare-headed figure in a long robe

5 Kings are generally characterised by head-dresses, but this does not seem to have been the norm everywhere in Syria (or the Lebanon). At Mari, the king wears a bonnet with a rim and a fleece-like mantle (Parrot 1959: Pl. XLVIII; see also Barrelet 1950 for the painting at the Court of the Palms at Mari); at Alalakh and Tuba, they wear a tall, oval head-dress and a mantle with rolled borders (Collon 1975: e.g. nos. 3–6, 10, 11); at Ebla, the king is bare-headed with shoulder-length hair and an open mantle (Matthiae 1989: Fig. 162); at Ugarit, a probable royal figure is bare-headed with a long pony-tail and wears a wrapped mantle (Schaeffer 1933: Pl. VI). The identification of kings whose iconography does not correspond to these types chiefly depends on context (e.g. association with another ruler of a standard type in an attitude of parity (e.g. CANES: no. 955; Marcopoli: no. 439) or with 'royal patrons' (e.g. the Mesopotamian or Suppliant goddess or the Syrian goddess). There are a large number of of bare-headed figures (25 per cent), some dressed in mantles (e.g. Marcopoli: no. 533), long fringed robes (e.g. Marcopoli: nos. 496, 486) or fringed calf-length mantles (Marcopoli: no. 507), who appear with kings and deities. Their identification is often difficult but can be sometimes surmised from context. As figures of importance: other king or royal figure (?) (e.g. Marcopoli: no. 507) or worshippers/seal owners (?) (e.g. Marcopoli: nos. 453, 471, 474); as officiants or attendants? (e.g. Marcopoli: nos. 495, 496). A careful study of dress and context should produce more accurate interpretations. A number of figures with or without royal head-dresses are represented seated or standing and wearing a flounced robe characteristic of deities (e.g. CANES: nos. 947, 948; Yale 1202 left, 1210). These may be divine or sacred rulers or ancestors, for whose cult there is evidence in the late Early Bronze Age (Ebla: Xella 1985) and Middle Bronze Age Syria (Mari: Birot 1980; Durand 1985: 159 note 55), Ebla (Matthiae 1979b; Xella 1985) and Ugarit (Kitchen 1977; Caquot 1989: 103–23). See also note 10 below.

6 For example: a god with a streaming vase (0.86 per cent); the Moon god (0.43 per cent); a seated deity with an axe (0.28 per cent); a Mountain god; the Mesopotamian Sun god; Mesopotamian Ishtar; and a Hunter deity (all: 0.14 per cent).

and the Winged and armed goddess.[7] The B ruler, on the other hand, is primarily associated with the Mesopotamian (Suppliant) goddess, followed by the bare-headed figure in a long robe (see note 5). His associations with the Storm god, the Winged and armed and Syrian goddesses are significantly less than those of the HO king. A number of the B king's other associations, within a wide range of low counts, relate to eastern, Mesopotamian influences (e.g. the King with a mace, Usmu).[8] It thus emerges that the B ruler has associations with subjects from both east and west Syria, whereas the HO ruler is more narrowly linked to west Syrian and, significantly, to Egyptian subjects. Again, differences occur in the interaction of and between the group of 'core' deities (the Mesopotamian (Suppliant) goddess; the Syrian goddesses; the Nude goddess; the Winged and armed goddess and the Storm god) already mentioned as being characteristic of the Syrian repertoire. For example, the Mesopotamian and the Syrian goddesses and the Storm god are above all associated with traditional east and west Syrian-type rulers, whereas the Nude goddess is more often associated with unidentified secular bare-headed figures in long or slit robes (see n. 5). The Winged and armed goddess seems to be associated equally with the west Syrian-type ruler and bare-headed figures. Among the deities themselves, the Storm god is associated primarily with Syrian and Babylonian goddesses; secondarily by the Winged and armed and the Nude goddesses, but also by different types of Nude or unveiled goddessses (e.g. Winged) in low counts who rarely occur with the other key deities. Again, the Nude goddess, beside her principal association with the Storm god and Babylonian goddess, has an association with demons or hybrids not found with the other key deities. Thus there appears to be not only a degree of tradition governing the association between figures (even in non-royal seals) but each subject had a viable 'circle' of associations. Both these could be flexible for a number of reasons, such as the introduction of foreign elements or of a subject that triggered its own associations. All these figures have a number of miscellaneous, low-count associations, about which it is difficult to draw conclusions.

Terminals to the main scenes now remain to be briefly discussed. Only the divided terminal – an upper and a lower register divided by a guilloche or plain line – which is the most common, will be considered. Do these subsidiary scenes complement the principal subject at all and is there a convention for what is placed in the upper as opposed to the lower register? The former was tested by examining two common subjects for terminals: the 'banquet' scene (two bare-headed figures, sometimes wearing flounced robes, seated opposite each other, and each often holding a cup) and 'marching men' (a group of between three and five striding men, usually wearing kilts).[9] Banquet scenes most often occur with devotional or ritual scenes featuring deities and rulers, but not with any particular ruler/s and deities nor are they characteristic of any particular workshop. As devotional and ritual scenes are so standard in the Syrian repertoire and as other terminals are also common with these scenes (see note 9), the 'banquet' was a theme which appears to have been used to evoke a number of different 'rituals', possibly connected to the main scene,[10] but whose selection as a motif was ultimately dependent on the seal-cutter rather than dictated by the main subject. The case of the 'marching men', whose connotations are both ritual and martial,[11] is slightly different. They occur beside miscellaneous as well as devotional and ritual scenes that often feature a martial deity or figure,[12] yet marching men do not invariably occur in all scenes of a martial aspect. So there appears to have been no specific rule about the choice of common terminals, but a selection of

7 The total number of associations of this figure is twenty-seven. Examples of other associations include: other kings; the Syrian woman; warriors; and Egyptain subjects (the latter in significantly greater numbers than with the king in the bonnet).

8 The total number of associations of this figure is thirty-seven. Examples of other associations include: other kings; the god with a streaming vase; the god/king with a twirling mace; the Water hero; demon(s); and the Nude goddess (the latter significantly more than with the king in the high oval head-dress).

9 Examples of other common terminal subjects, listed by frequency of occurrence are: above: griffin/s (8.2 per cent); antelope/s (7.95 per cent); birds (4.92 per cent); lion/s (4.48 per cent); hare/s (3.61 per cent); banquet scene (3.18 per cent); sphinx/es (2.74 per cent). A number of miscellaneous animal, human and divine figures follow in very low counts (e.g. kneeling figures, ritual scene, Nude goddess, Suppliant goddesses). Below: lion/s (17 per cent); gazelle/s (8.39 per cent); griffin/s (4.34 per cent); hare/s (3.90 per cent); marching men (3.47 per cent); sphinx/es (3.32 per cent); bull/s, bull/s head/s (3.03 per cent); bird/s (2.31 per cent). These are also followed by miscellaneous very low count subjects such as plants, demons, nude figures and mating animals.

10 In a scene such as Marcopoli: no. 440, where two kings pay homage to a third armed king, the 'banquet scene' in the terminal may evoke the funerary meal (*kispum*) celebrated in honour of ancestors (see above, note 5 reference to Birot and Durand for Mari).

11 In a number of principal scenes, marching men are adjuncts to banquets, almost as ritual dancers (e.g. CANES: no. 972; Marcopoli: no. 478). In terminals, the two motifs are not necessarily coupled, although they can be (e.g. CANES: no. 944e). This motif seems to have become partly conflated with the motif of marching men behind chariots, who may have been more specifically warriors (e.g. Yale: 1284–6; CANES: no. 973e: note the occasional difference in costume between the two types of men).

12 E.g. behind an armed ruler (e.g. Marcopoli: no. 452; CANES: no. 973e) and armed themselves (e.g. CANES: no. 944e).

choices, some of which were more appropriate than others. Conventions seem to apply to what is placed in the upper and the lower registers, but these are limited and can be broken. For example, 'banquet scenes' are almost invariably found in the upper register (see note 9) as often are winged beings. The latter are found in the lower registers but in lower counts. Characteristic of the lower register are other, more 'earthy', subjects: lions, 'marching men', bulls, etc. Thus what is characteristic of earth was placed more frequently in the lower register and what is characteristic of sky, such as winged beings, was placed more frequently in the upper register. Yet a number of subjects such as hares, sphinxes etc, are found in both registers and there are a significant number of miscellaneous motifs in low counts. Some of these have an apparent relevance to the main scene, the significance of others cannot be properly assessed. Thus it seems there was a degree of convention which governed the choice of motifs and their placement in the majority of terminals, and that these conventions were known irrespective of workshops and across time (Periods II and III). These conventions were flexible, however, and were ultimately dependent on the judgement of the seal-cutters.

4.4 FOREIGN INFLUENCES; INTEGRATION AND ADAPTATION; ORIGINALITY

The apparent iconographic variety of the Syrian glyptic repertoire is due in part to the compositional and carving skills of seal-cutters, who rendered similar subjects in different styles, compositions (e.g. reversed registers, figures at an axis, division into four faces, octagonal seals, etc.) and detail. Yet true variety nevertheless exists. This is partly because of the influence of foreign iconography (Egyptian, Cretan and Mesopotamian), whose subjects were integrated and, in the case of Egypt in particular, developed in the Syrian repertoire. The Egyptian impact will be assessed in Chapter 5. Here it is only important to note that, in contrast to the varied Egyptian impact, traditional Mesopotamian subjects, such as the King with a mace and the Suppliant goddess, were treated conservatively (with the exception of the nude hero) and that Cretan influence was restricted to combat scenes with warriors and possibly some bull scenes.[13] The reasons for this are examined in Chapter 5.

Rare scenes or individual motifs of apparent great originality also contribute to the variety and vivacity of the Syrian repertoire. Examples of these range from whole scenes (e.g. **5**), to rare subjects such as a figure riding on a camel (e.g. Porada 1977), to images that represent a conflation of symbolism: e.g. **202**, the Hathor head/arms/tree/winged sun disc).

4.5 INTERPRETATION

Iconographic interpretation – ranging from the simple identification of figures and symbols to the interpretation of whole scenes – is one the most elusive yet tantalising aspects of the study of glyptic in general. With Syrian glyptic iconography of the Middle Bronze Age, this is particularly tempting because of its variety and imaginativeness. Yet it may be considered a rash, even a redundant, undertaking, not only because of the sporadic nature of complementary sources but also because certain subjects and iconographies were solely generated by the medium itself, because one image may have had many meanings (or no significant ones, or have lost them) and because our methods of assessment and interpretation are modern and can only shed limited light on ancient images. Finally there is the danger of overloading an image with significance. Given these limitations, current analysis, aspects of which are inevitably subjective, can do no more than skim the surface of interpretation or 'decode' the significance of images, whether merely decorative or other. Nevertheless, an outline of the issues that beset such attempts at interpretation and of areas in which such attempts may be rewarding is necessary, in order to better define the role of the glyptic workshops and their iconography in Syrian culture. I shall confine myself to examples of the identification and interpretation of main figures and scenes, not of symbols.

13 Examples of typical Mesopotamian (Old Babylonian) iconography mostly featuring the Suppliant goddess/es with or without the 'King with a mace', as principal subjects or combined with Syrian iconography (idiosyncracies in brackets): CANES: no. 930: Sun god facing King and followed by Suppliant goddess (non-Mesopotamian arrangement of figures); CANES: no. 960: two facing Suppliant goddesses (scorpions between the goddesses; winged goddess in terminal); Yale: no. 1271: two facing Suppliant goddesses (tree and winged sun disc in between them, the goddesses wear royal caps. This scene conflates royal symbolism); Aleppo: no. 144: Suppliant goddess and 'King with mace' (goddess in cap?); Speleers: no. 501: Suppliant goddess and 'King with mace' (beside Syrian king, Nude goddess and minor motifs); Chiha: no. 290: Suppliant goddess (facing Syrian king, beside Egyptian king facing figure in Egyptian kilt); Yale: no. 1278: this seal shows the combination of three iconographies: Ur III ritual/Syrian (centre) Old Babylonian (terminal); Syrian (sky). For examples of scenes with Cretan warriors, see Collon 1987: nos. 705–10; for bull scenes, see Collon 1994.

The principal obstacle to interpretation is the complete lack of complementary sources that shed light on Syrian glyptic iconography. Contemporary painting and sculpture are of no substantive use, for even if there are parallel images, their identification is purely visual and has no accompanying textual corroboration.[14] Equally, I know of no Syrian texts of the Middle Bronze Age that explain or even refer to the types of images represented on cylinder seals. Only occasional god epithets, accounts of gifts to gods or lists of ornaments, contribute to creating a picture of a particular deity. We might infer from this paucity of textual references that there was no need for specification, as everyone understood the images, or that such specification was incongruous in the culture of the time – but we cannot infer that the images had no significance. It is right to assume, however, that some had significance, in the broadest sense, only in the context of the medium itself.

Our starting point, then, is a set of images from a variety of provenances, which may or may not find their equivalent in secondary textual sources. As the provenance of the majority of the seals themselves is unknown, there is the added problem that particular iconography can only be occasionally linked to a specific location. My survey has shown that images in Syrian glyptic can be coherently classified. There are specific themes, with worship and ritual with royal and divine figures dominant. Within a wide range of miscellaneous subjects, there is a persistently occurring group of kings and deities. For present purposes, the latter can be said to constitute the core or canon of the Syrian iconographic repertoire, whose most formal manifestation is on the royal seals (see Chapter 3), although even here there are iconographic surprises (**68**). The recurring theme of Syrian royalty is partly explained and corroborated by contemporary texts, whereas the identification of deities, the interpretation of rituals and of scenes that show hybrid beings and possibly scenes from popular mythology, is far more complex. The reasons for this will be developed.

In its portrayal of different types of Syrian kings (see note 5), seal iconography appears to reflect accurately an aspect of the political *status quo* in Middle Bronze Age Syria, as discussed in Chapter 1. Contemporary texts, notably from eighteenth century BC Mari, constantly refer to royal activities such as diplomatic journeys, lists of gifts to and from contemporary kings, religious rituals, etc. and frequently refer to relations between local and foreign kings, of the same or of an inferior status, but apparently not Egyptian. Thus kingship is a dominant theme of both seals and texts, but the parallel mostly rests there. In some cases, kings can be attributed to a region by their costume (see note 5), but the interpretation of specific scenes on seals, such as two different kings standing facing one another on either side of a standard topped by a winged sun disc, is far more difficult. We do not know to what extent such scenes were intended to be representations of actual rituals as opposed to generalised concepts (e.g. friendship, parity, the worship of a standard),[15] although the realistic detail of some scenes evokes actual rituals described in texts or aspects of current worship.[16] Some graphic rituals mentioned in texts, such as the alliance ritual of 'touching the throat' or of 'touching the hem' or of 'killing the donkey' (Munn-Rankin 1956), are not represented on seals as far as I know. An exception is the motif of the king as conqueror, stamping on his enemy, an image found in both text and seals (Durand 1988: 406). The incorporation of foreign kings into the repertoire (e.g. the Mesopotamian 'King with a mace'; the Egyptian king) could be due to the same preoccupation with kingship and status. However, the manipulation of the iconography of the Pharaoh in particular, which shows him in various guises (Egyptian and Syrian: see Chapter 5) suggests an iconographic dynamic which is a factor of the medium itself, most probably independent of textual sources. I shall return to this point.

Textual sources for the names and origin of deities are numerous (e.g. lists of deities, royal inscriptions, curse formulae in texts, seal inscriptions (see e.g. royal seals), personal names) but these come from a limited number of sites,[17] and only give partial insight into religion, both state and popular. For example, only Mari has yielded contemporary lists of offerings to deities, which may constitute a type of pantheon (Lambert 1985a), but this is

14 Egyptian sources of the New Kingdom and later mention and represent Asiatic gods and goddesses (e.g. Anat, Astarte, Ishtar, Reshef, Baal, Horon and others: Stadelmann 1967; Helck 1971; Cornelius 1994). With the exception of Reshef (cf. Marcopoli nos. 480, 481) and possibly the goddess/es with Egyptianising floral head-dresses (Chapter 5) there are no close iconographic parallels to Syrian Middle Bronze Age iconography.

15 It is probably significant that different Syrian kings represented in groups of two or more appear in neutral or peaceful, and not confrontational, stances.

16 Marcopoli: no. 507 shows a king and a bare-headed figure approaching a deified king and a goddess on a plinth. They each carry votive offerings: one is an arm-and-hand vessel, examples of which have been found in Syria and the Levant (Marcopoli: 83) and a very realistic looking mace on a stand. See also note 10 (*kispum* ritual).

17 Contemporary Middle Bronze Age sources are limited to wide range of texts from Mari (ARM 1–26) and a much more limited range from Alalakh (Wiseman 1953; Zeeb 1991, 1992). These are partly complemented by late third millennium texts from Ebla, which have parallels at both Mari and Ugarit (Xella 1983, 1985) and the fourteenth century BC material from Ugarit (TU 1 (1974) and 2 (1989) with bibliographies).

far from complete and does not name many of the deities mentioned in texts and used in personal names. In contrast, the fourteenth century BC sources for Ugarit give some idea of the fullness of religious categorisation, from a Mesopotamian list of deities with local equivalents (Nougayrol 1968: list A the former, list B the latter), to subdivisions within the pantheon, to the divinisation of aspects of nature, animals and ritual objects, etc. (de Moor 1970). Whereas the sources for Middle Bronze Age north Syria are relatively plentiful, the situation in southern Syria, in the Lebanon and in coastal regions, as for example at Byblos, where there was considerable Egyptian influence, is far less clear.

In brief, what does emerge from the texts is the dominance of a few regional gods (e.g. Dagan: the Middle Euphrates; Adad/Baal/Teshub: Iamhad; El/Baal: west-central Syria), with local forms of the same deity, with different cults, not only in different cities but also within the same city. Thus duplication was a principal feature. There was also considerable common ground within east and west Syrian Semitic/Amorite religion,[18] but geographical location and historical tradition also played a strong part. At Mari, for example, there is evidence of Sumerian and Akkadian influence, whereas at Alalakh, Hurrian influence was strong. Thus the same deities could be of different importance locally and known by different names (e.g. Nergal/Reshef; Shamash/^{f}Shapash; Sîn/Yarikh).

There were also lesser regional deities and deities with specific cult centres (e.g. Itur-Mer at Mari) who were worshipped within the political orbit of a particular city. Thus it is perhaps preferable to speak of several local east and west Syrian Semitic pantheons with a number of duplicated or shared deities rather than of one single disorganised pantheon, as Lambert 1985a has argued. The number of major deities belonging to any one pantheon cannot be properly assessed from present sources. At Mari, twenty-five deities are mentioned in the large 'pantheon' offering list, with sixteen others on the smaller tablets (Lambert 1985a) but Nakata gathered 131 deities in his inventory, drawing from all available textual sources (Nakata 1974). In fourteenth century Ugarit, there seems to be a core of *c.* twenty-four (de Moor 1970) or *c.* thirty-four (Nouygayrol 1968, but includes duplicated deities), with a host of peripheral deities and divine catagories (de Moor 1970). Alalakh historical texts point to three major official deities (Adad/Teshub, Ishtar and Hebat) and to many others in the personal names. None of this evidence can be taken as complete.

To what extent can such a kaleidoscope of deities be reconciled to seal imagery? Both the small group of deities which persistently recur in seal iconography and the duplication of major deities known from the texts attest to a unified core in west-Semitic religion. There must have been a degree of correlation between deities in texts and deities shown on seals and a substantial number of the principal deities on the seals have obvious iconographic identities, but clear-cut links are rare. One reason for this is the paucity of descriptive sources which are limited to general characteristics or epithets.[19] Thus the names by which the majority of west-Semitic deities were known to the local population cannot be surmised, with the probable exception of the storm god Adad/Baal/Teshub. This applies even to major deities such as the 'Syrian goddess' the royal patroness of Iamhad *par excellence*, who appears on royal seal impressions from Alalakh (see Chapter 2). The question of unsure provenance for many of the seals is also an important factor in our not being able to name deities, some of whom had different names in different localities. A number of miscellaneous deities are known from the texts by name only, with no hint of a visual persona. Equally, a number of miscellaneous deities found in low counts on the seals have only minimal distinguishing attributes. Lastly, there are no clues to the local names of foreign deities incorporated into Syrian iconography,[20] nor of the names, if any existed, of the foreign deities whose iconographies were manipulated or modified. These may just have been 'image' types created by the seal-cutters.

It is extremely difficult to assess the extent to which myths and popular demons are shown on Syrian seals. The identity of the various composite beings shown on them is completely unknown. While the majority of scenes are not narrative, some encounters between deities or between deities and composite beings (e.g.

18 For example, beside the ubiquitous Storm god Adad/Baal, there was: Dagan (Mari, Alalakh, Ugarit); Shamash (Mari), Shamash/^{f}Shapash (Alalakh), ^{f}Shapash (Ugarit); Nergal (Mari)/Reshef (Ugarit); Sîn (Mari, Ugarit A list, B list broken); Ea (Mari, Alalakh, Ugarit A list, B list broken); Irra (Mari, Alalakh); Malik (Alalakh, Mari, personal names only; Ugarit: *mlkm* B list); Lim (Mari, Alalakh personal names only); Ishtar (Mari, Alalakh)/ *ʿttrt* (Ugarit B list); *Bēlet ekallim* (Mari, Alalakh); Ḫebat (Alalakh, very rare at Mari); Išḫara (Mari, Alalakh, Ugarit A list, B list broken).

19 Besides the Storm god Adad/Baal/Teshub whose attributes correspond in text and in seal imagery (Collon 1972; Williams-Forte 1983, 1993; Amiet 1992), other possible identifications are: the Winged and Armed goddess, who is frequently associated with the Storm god on the seals and with Baal in the Ugaritic myths, may be Anat or a form of Ishtar (but see Matthiae 1992 who identifies this deity as Yam, the Sea god, with little evidence); the Nude goddess: a form of Ishtar/*ʿttrt* or of Anat; the god with gazelle horns and streamers (ex. cat. 49, 284) or an armed god with a bow (Marcopoli: nos. 474, 475) may be Reshef, on the basis of New Kingdom Egyptian representations and epithets (Cornelius 1994).

20 There was a ^{d}Lamma/lamassu at Mari (the Babylonian name of the Suppliant goddess: Nakata 1974: 338–40), but there is no way of knowing if this was the name by which the Babylonian goddess was referred to on Syrian seals.

Delaporte 1923: Pl. 96: 16; Moortgat 1940: no. 538) appear to represent episodes which may have a mythical basis (see note 21 for examples of secular images that represent a sequence). Because no Middle Bronze Age mythical literature from Syria has yet been recovered, it is tempting to search for parallels in the fourteenth century BC literature of Ugarit. This is legitimate, but not invariably rewarding.[21] Again, the influence of contemporary regional myths or of popular beliefs, which we cannot salvage, as well as the creative input particular to the glyptic medium itself, have to be considered in such evaluations, even if they cannot be tested. Thus the match between text and image is far from comprehensive, even though there are points of contact. This is not surprising, for reasons that will be developed further.

CONCLUSIONS

What were the sources of an iconography that was unified and reflects social and cultural cohesion, but also showed much diversity and imagination? There were many: both visual and textual, both external and internal to the seal workshops.

Texts have been referred to above. Obvious external visual sources would have included those from the other arts. These could range from images known from palaces, temples, workshops and the home, to the rarer input of foreign motifs from luxury goods (see Chapter 1), to motifs on other glyptic and even to the demands of individual patronage. Yet it is the combination of the external and the internal sources (i.e. the dynamic of the seal workshop and of the medium itself), which is at the root of this question. Scenes represented on the seals are for the most part reductionist: the visual impact is clear and strong rather than confused or complex. Even though some scenes (e.g. Egyptianising) may be recognisably derived from another medium or more rarely seem to illustrate or evoke an 'episode' in a mythical, religious or secular event, most figures or sets of figures, which incidentally are represented as being alive in relation to one another (representations of statues are minimal), stand in simple relation to one another much like icons. They are also juxtaposed, altered and transformed, sometimes vividly, according to coherent conventions that are those of the workshop or of the individual seal-cutter, peculiar to the medium itself. Strong signs of the creativity of the seal-cutters is demonstrated by originality both of composition and, for example, by unusual symbolism. Workshops discussed in Chapter 2 have shown individuality of style, iconography and form, but also shared elements of iconography and form. The same can be said for seals that cannot be attributed to particular workshops. Thus there was a strong individual workshop tradition, but it was not exclusive. These factors point to a steady internal dynamic within the whole of the Middle Bronze Age glyptic tradition of Syria. What becomes apparent from the treatment of Egyptian imagery, for example, is that there was an internal 'vocabulary' of motifs that were associated or related by attributes (e.g. wings, solar, winged sun disc in the treatment of the hawk, Chapter 5). We do not yet know how the internal sources within this glyptic tradition were managed. Hexagonal seals showing a variety of separate motifs set alongside each other, some apparently unassociated (e.g. Chiha 281), display the types of images or motifs that could have been available to the seal-cutters. We do not know how these images or motifs were registered for the seal-cutters, nor how the conventions for associating figures and combining them with terminals were estimated. Sketches on stone or clay, impressions of other seals, tradition, intuition and imagination probably all played a part.

A summary of the probable sources for Middle Bronze Age seal workshops may be tabulated as on the following page:

21 For example, Williams-Forte (1983) suggests that the serpent speared by a tree-symbol held by the Weather god (Adad/Baal/Teshub) is possibly Mot, the god of the underworld and death, one of Baal's major adversaries in the Ugaritic texts (1983: 38–9). Lambert has argued that Williams-Forte's conclusions are over-interpretative, but he himself suggests that the snake is to be identified with Leviathan (Ugaritic *ltn* or Lothan) (1985b: 444). See also most recently Amiet 1992a (Lothan or Mot). Williams-Forte (1996 forthcoming) suggests that the griffin-demon or griffin-headed man in Syrian art (e.g. Delaporte 1923: Pl. 96: 16) is the Ugaritic Kothar. Williams-Forte (1983: 25–32) also suggests that certain episodes and scenes on seals from different workshops represent four stages of a narrative victory cycle between the Weather god and the serpent: (1) the god impaling the serpent; (2) the victorious god displaying his conquest to a goddess; (3) the victorious god displaying his weapon (the tree) to humans or gods; and (4) the worship of the emblem (the tree standard) by human, divine and composite beings. Whether part of a cycle or not, points 1 and 2 are clearly connected episodes (the arguments connecting points 3 and 4, but especially 4 to 1 and 2 are not very convincing). A similar example of 'related stages' is shown in a secular context, by combat scenes between Cretan warriors: (1) Marcopoli: no. 548 shows the warriors preparing to do combat; (2) CANES: no. 969e and Seyrig: 1963: Pl. XXI: 5 the actual combat. All three seals are from the same workshop.

Table 4.1: Hypothetical sources for Middle Bronze Age seal workshops

INSIDE	OUTSIDE
General Syrian seal-carving tradition	Contemporary arts, texts
Individual workshop tradition	Official pantheon/rituals
Registers or records of subjects, motifs	Royal cult
Individual carver	Popular religion; cults; myths
Reworking of outside sources/creativity	Individual patronage Foreign sources: e.g. Egyptian and Cretan artefacts Other cylinder seals

We cannot estimate the response that these largely figurative scenes evoked in the seal-owners and to what extent seal imagery itself influenced other media. The variety of images in the repertoire suggests that an element of surprise or novelty must have contributed to the interest of a seal. Seals were given as gifts: the seal of a ruler of Buzuran (**136**), which is partly Egyptianising and was probably carved in the Levant, is a case in point. Its iconography was probably unfamiliar and exciting to someone from north-eastern Syria. Thus, even though a large part of the repertoire shows cohesiveness and could be described as a universal 'language' in Syria, not all images would necessarily have been 'understood': some could just have amazed. This again is the mark of professionalism within a tradition. Finally, there appears to be a paradox between the functional nature of a seal, whereby the only time the scene or pattern on a seal was seen as a whole was when the seal was deployed, and the range and quality of the iconography and carving. I would argue that it was precisely because the art was miniature, that it was not for a limited patronage (anyone who could afford a seal owned one), and that there were several different workshops, that it was so vital. The amuletic value of a seal may also have contributed to this high standard. It is thus fair to say that the art of the seal workshops was autonomous.

5 EGYPTIAN AND EGYPTIANISING ICONOGRAPHY

Egyptian and Egyptianising scenes and figures constitute *c.* 14 per cent of the total iconographical repertoire of published Syrian seals (see Chapter 4, n. 2). The percentage of overall Egyptian symbols is far lower (1.01 per cent) but the occurrence of each symbol varies considerably (cf. the *ankh* (13.3 per cent) with the *w®}t* eye (0.28 per cent). These figures are significant enough to warrant analysis, not only for what can be revealed about the nature of Syrian glyptic iconography and Syro-Levantine perceptions of Egypt, but for what evidence might be provided for Middle Kingdom iconography absent from the record in Egypt.

The corpus of seals in this book gives examples of all ranges of Egyptian and Egytianising iconography. These have been classified into three main groups:

Egyptian and Egyptianising scenes in Syro-Levantine contexts

Egyptian and Egyptianising figures and symbols in Syro-Levantine contexts

Syro-Levantine figures with Egyptianising characteristics (attributes, attitudes)

Egyptian scenes and figures, are comprehensively represented, whereas seals that represent common motifs, such as the *ankh* or Egyptianising sphinxes, have been selected to portray one or two of every type within every context. A list of seals with this type of Egyptian motif not included in the corpus is given in the Seals Register (Appendix B). The emphasis in this chapter is on context and iconography. Typology is dealt with in Chapter 6, and there is a short glossary of Egyptian subjects in Appendix A.

The iconography discussed below is considered Egyptian if it adheres faithfully to Egyptian forms, and Egyptianising when Egyptian subjects are inaccurately represented or are adopted by Levantine subjects. The identification of the Egyptian and Egyptianising figures and motifs in this corpus is based on their resemblance to Egyptian counterparts. Deities are referred to by their Egyptian personal names (e.g. Horus, Montu) when their identification is undisputed, or by a descriptive name (e.g. the lion-headed god, the Hawk-headed god) when their identification is ambiguous. Similarly, Egyptian names are given to crowns, staves and other attributes and symbols only when they can be closely identified.

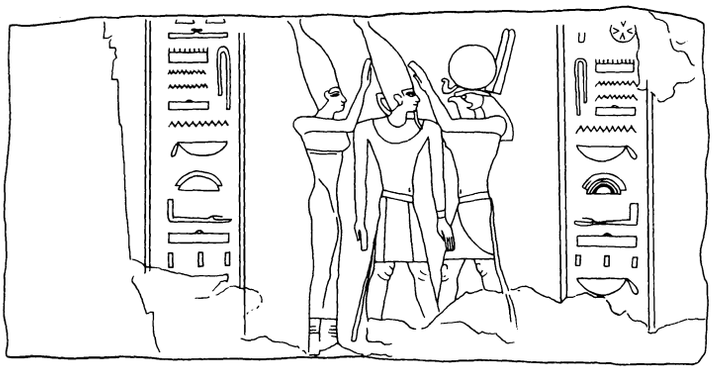
5.1 EGYPTIAN AND EGYPTIANISING SCENES IN SYRO-LEVANTINE CONTEXTS

Scenes with the Pharaoh and Egyptian deities (**1–24**)

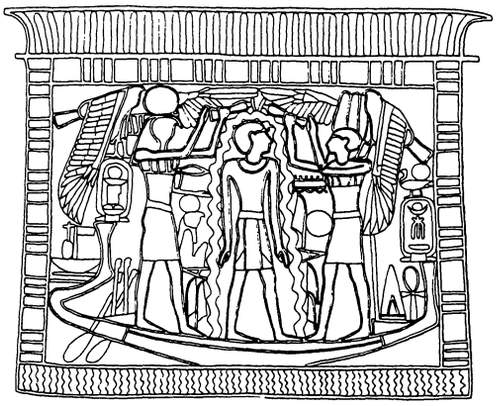
Representations of the Pharaoh before a deity or deities in a variety of ritual contexts are fundamental to official Egyptian religious iconography (see Pharaoh in Appendix A). The scenes on **1–24** for example, where the Pharaoh is closely associated with deities or stands under an arch of *ankhs* (**4**, **22**), all derive from standard Egyptian episodes (embracing, blessing, offering, purification) from royal ritual actions (**1a–c**, **1f**, **1g**, **3a**, **3b**). The episodes are mostly individual units rather than consecutive sequences. Scenes such as on **5**, which may have been inspired by a sequence but are assembled in a non-Egyptian way, are rare. Originally, legitimate Egyptian episodes may also have been juxtaposed in a non-Egyptian way (**24**, **28**). In the majority of cases, the Syro-Levantine element is obvious: it is usually manifested by non-Egyptian spacing and by, for example, a terminal or guilloche (**1**, **2**, **4**) or a Syrian figure or animal in the field (e.g. **3**, **4**, **24**). On seals **19**, **21** and **22**, the Egyptian grouping is complimentary to a Syrian scene.

The Pharaoh with Egyptian gods (Horus, ram-headed gods, Re-Harakhte, Seth, Lion-headed god)

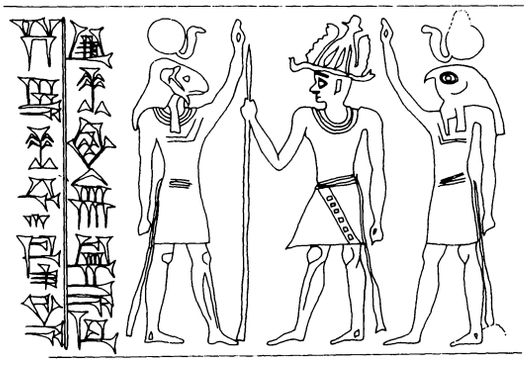
Episodes of blessing and protection are shown on **1–4**. Horus (**2**, **3**) and a ram-headed god and Re-Harakhte (**1**) extend their arms towards the Pharaoh in gestures used in crowning rituals, for example, where the deity touches the Pharaoh's crown, and where they can also hand him insignia or blessings (**1a**, **1f**, **3a**) (Lacau and Chevrier 1969: 9, Pl. 16; David 1981: e.g. 39 UR 13; LRIV 114; 91 UR2). On **1**, Re-Harakhte, standing on the right of the Pharaoh as the symbolic east or morning sun, is juxtaposed with a ram-headed solar deity on the left. The unusual combination of the curved horns and solar disc of this deity do not permit a sure identification, although the juxtaposition with Re-Harakhte either implies another aspect of Horus or of Amun-Re. The curved horns favour an identification with Amun-Re (see Appendix A) and the gods' association on **1** may have been



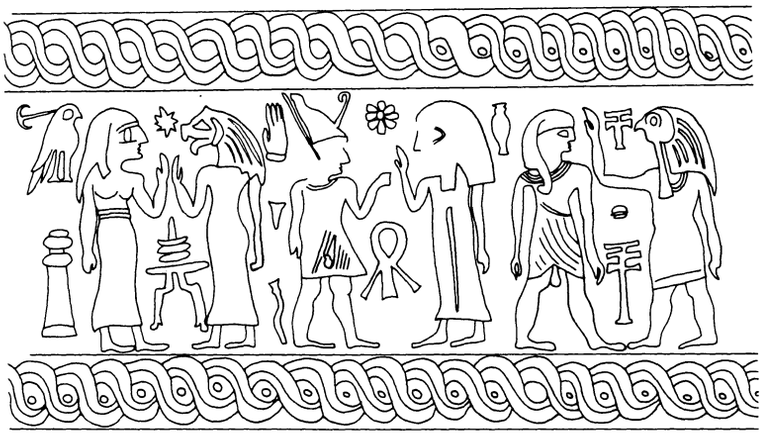
1a



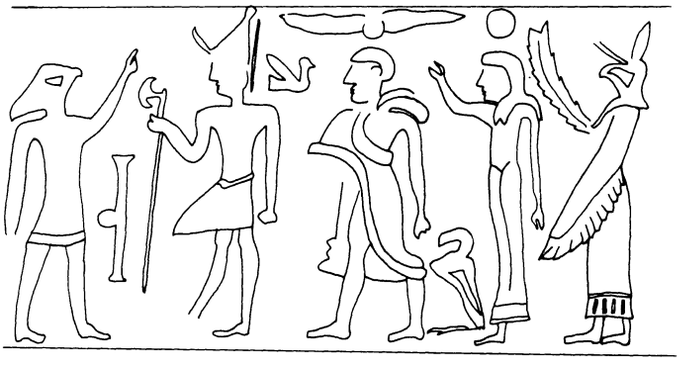
1b



1



2



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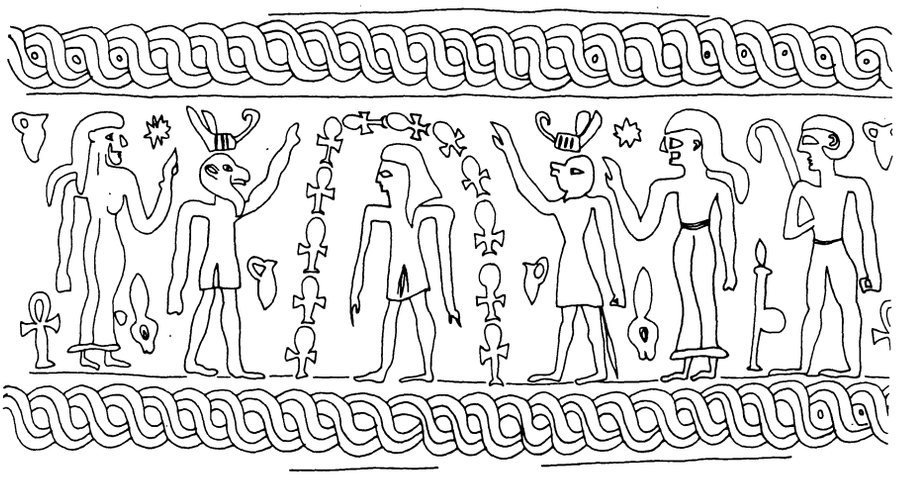

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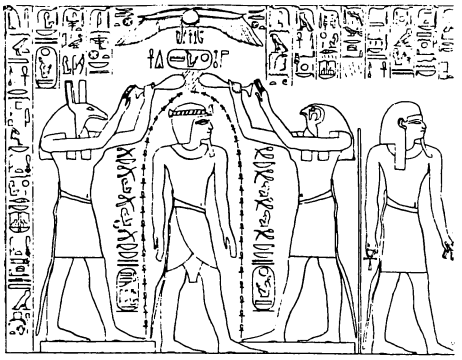
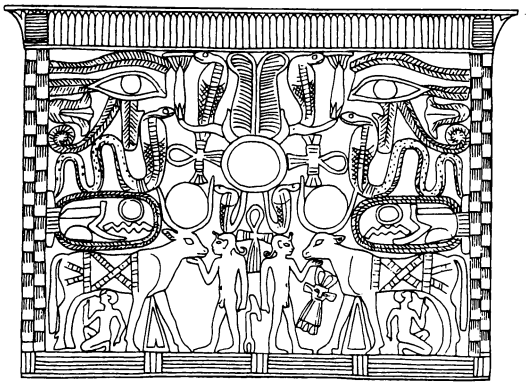
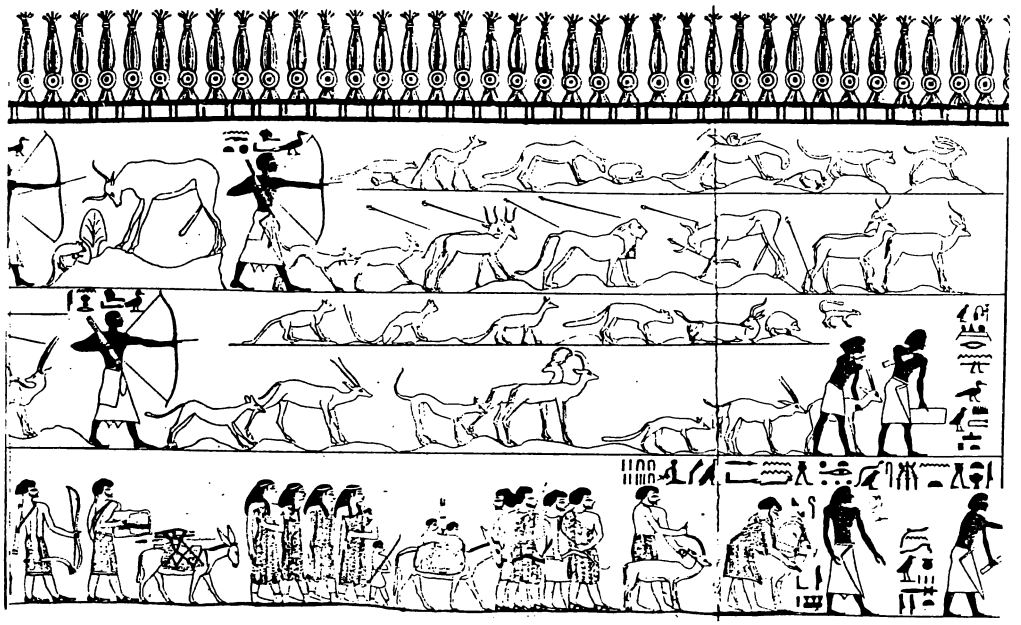


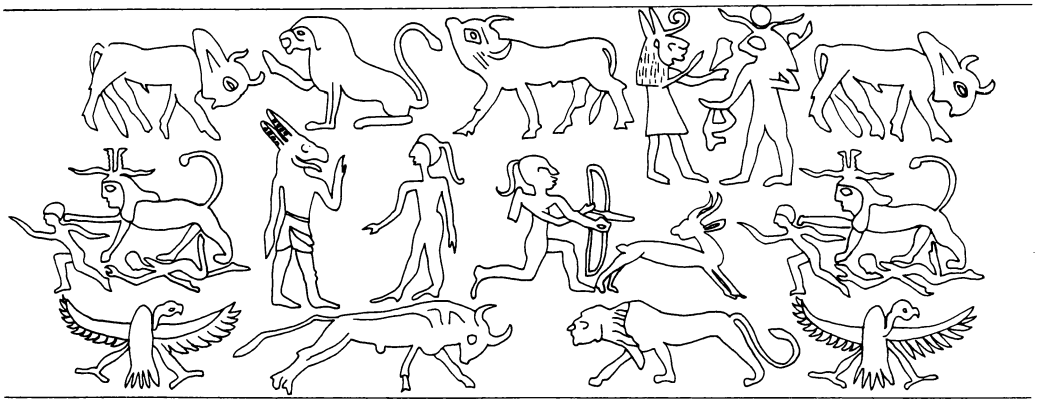
1c



1d



1e



5

intentional. A New Kingdom pectoral shows Ahmose being lustrated by Amun-Re and Re, as a god in the double plumes and a hawk in a solar disc head-dress respectively (Feucht-Putz 1967: 47–8, Fig.11; **1b**). The Pharaoh in this context would not be represented holding a staff, or without the deities interacting more closely with him.

On **4**, the Pharaoh stands within the symbolic lustration fluid, in the form of *ankh*s. In Egyptian iconography, this is normally poured from vessels by two deities (Horus, Anubis or Seth) on either side of the Pharaoh (**1c**) (Lepsius 1849/III: Pl. 24d; David 1981: 125–40), whereas here the two ram-headed deities merely raise their arms on either side of the 'arch'. The watery context of this scene with its lustration fluid and jug strongly suggests an identification or association with Khnum for the horned deities, although his characteristic horizontal ram's horns (cf. seal **77**) are missing. This 'arch' was adopted as a separate motif in Syrian glyptic (cf. **88**, **210**). Seal **22** shows a further adaptation of the motif: the *ankh*s issue from the Hathor arms.

Seal **5** is one of the most interesting of all Egyptianising Syro-Levantine seals. Its theme, constituted by the association of related figures and motifs that are both Egyptian – hunting child, deities with offerings, trampling sphinx, Nekhbet vulture – and Syro-Levantine – gazelle, humped bull, lion – is that of a desert hunt. The dominance of the Egyptian motifs suggests Egyptian inspiration, as does the register composition, although it differs greatly in character from standard Egyptian hunting and desert scenes (**1e**). Three Egyptian and Egyptianising gods are represented on the seal. Seth, in an appropriate desert context, is represented as patron to the Egyptian, possibly royal, child (**1d**). Above them are a lion-headed god and a Hawk-headed god, mutually making offerings to each other in a non-Egyptian manner. The Hawk-headed god wears a solar crown, normally worn by solar Horus in bird form. Given the context of the seal and the fact that Egyptian sources link Horus to the east and to the desert (one of his titles was 'Horus of the Desert' or 'of the Foreign Lands' (*ḥr nb ḫ3swt*) and that he is cited as being in the desert in various mythological episodes (Borghouts 1971: 155–6, no. 374 and see Appendix A), it is possible that an aspect of Horus is probably intended here. The lion-headed god is more difficult to identify. Mahes or Mihos (see Appendix A) was a lion god in his own right but, given the context of the seal and that anthropomorphic lions in Egypt were principally manifestations of deities with solar associations, notably Horus, yet another aspect of Horus could be represented here. Thus two aspects of Horus, one hawk-headed in a solar crown and another, unusual one, lion-headed in a double crown, may have been intentionally juxtaposed or coincidentally brought together on this seal. Other Egyptian motifs, such as trampling sphinx and Nekhbet vulture, have also been taken out of their Egyptian context and blended into this scene.

The Pharaoh with Egyptian goddesses: Hathor/Isis; Isis/Nephtys; lioness goddess

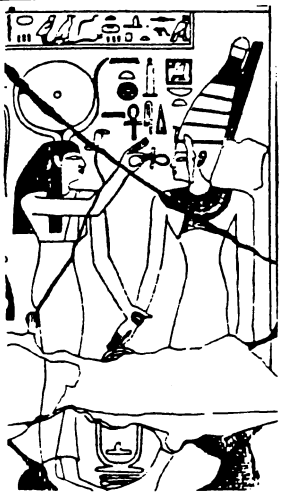
The Pharaoh's most frequent association on Syro-Levantine seals is with an Egyptian goddess, whose cow's horns and solar disc head-dress is based on that of Hathor. A number of other crowns or head-dresses are worn by the goddess/es, which again are mostly characterisitic of Hathor or Isis: the ram's horns and Hathor crown (**14**, **15**: Hathor); the solar disc and uraeus (**18**, **19**: Isis); the floral head-dress (**20**: Hathor, Meret); the double plumes (**21**: Isis, Hathor); an uraeus only (**22**: Hathor, Isis, Wadjet); and a wig (**9**: generally worn by goddessess). It is worth noting that this array of crowns on Middle Bronze Age seals may be significant both for the iconography of goddesses' crowns in Middle Kingdom Egypt and for the origins of New Kingdom representations of Semitic deities (see further and Chapter 6). The iconography and identity of the goddess/es is discussed below.

The pairing between the Pharaoh and Egyptian goddesses parallels that of the Syrian ruler with Syrian goddesses on other Syrian seals; I shall also return to this point.

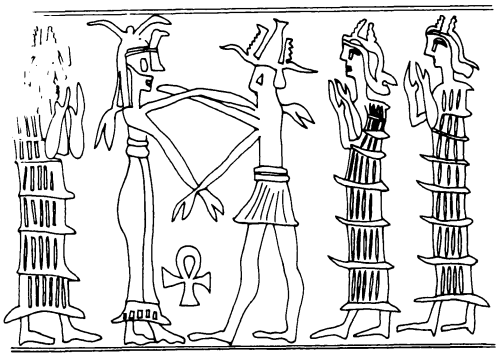
On **6**, **7**, **8** and **24**, the Pharaoh is embraced by the Egyptian goddess. The essence of a divine and royal embrace was to transmit 'life' or life and strength at liminal stages during rituals (Moret 1902: 80–81, 94, 100, 101, 160). Thus Egyptian goddesses embrace the Pharaoh while touching him with an *ankh* or a *menat* collar in royal cult scenes, or when suckling him (e.g. Habachi 1963: 27, Fig. 8; Arnold 1974: Pl. 28; David 1981: 38, LRIV 20, IV 23). Holding the Pharaoh's hand while facing him (**9**) had similar import. On these seals the embrace has been taken out of its context. (See below for the duplication of the Pharaoh.)

The scenes on **11–22** are not close copies of Egyptian episodes but nevertheless can be recognised as having been derived from ritual scenes. On **11**, two Egyptian goddesses hold out an *ankh* towards the Pharaoh. This is derived from scenes in which goddesses give the Pharaoh 'life' i.e. an *ankh* (e.g. **1g**, **3a**; Habachi 1963: 24–7, 41, Figs. 7, 8, 19). In Egyptian iconography the goddess stands closer to the Pharaoh, touches his nose with the *ankh* in one hand, and either embraces him or holds a staff in the other. The duplication of the goddesses in this context is not Egyptian. Mutual and individual offering scenes may be represented on **12–20**. The offering of bread (**12**), flowers or floral staves (**12**, **13**, **15**, **20**), wine, incense, resin and natron were standard gifts from the

1f



1g



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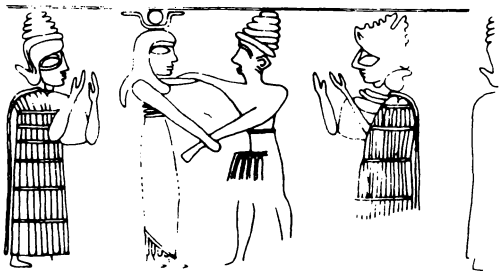

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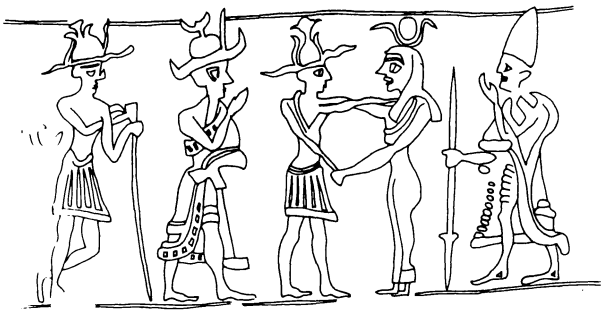

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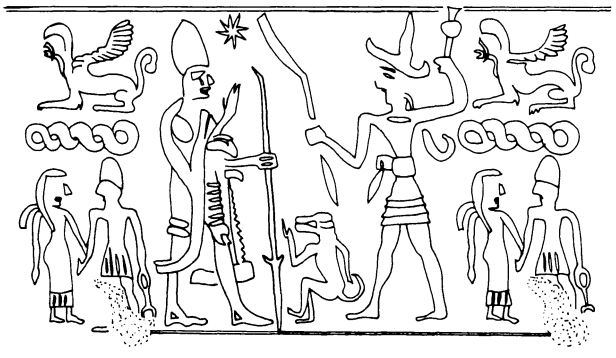

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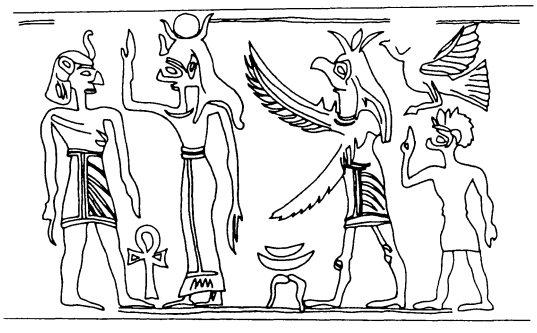

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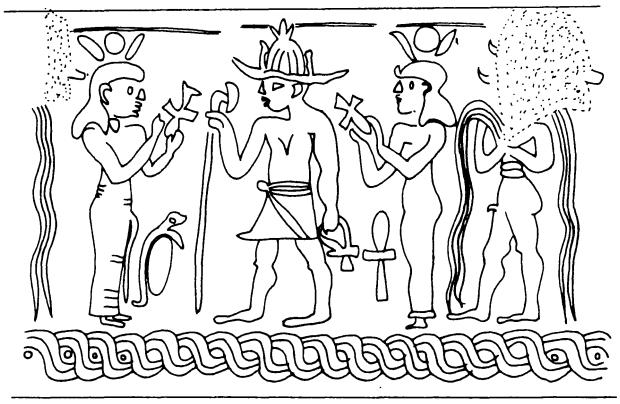

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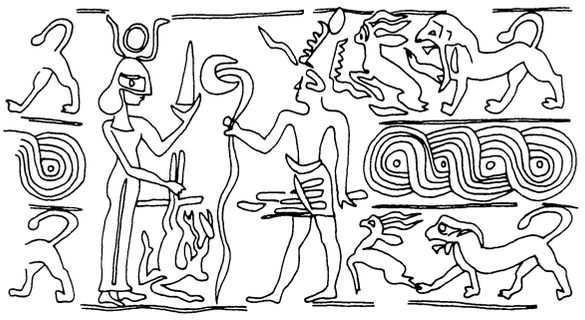

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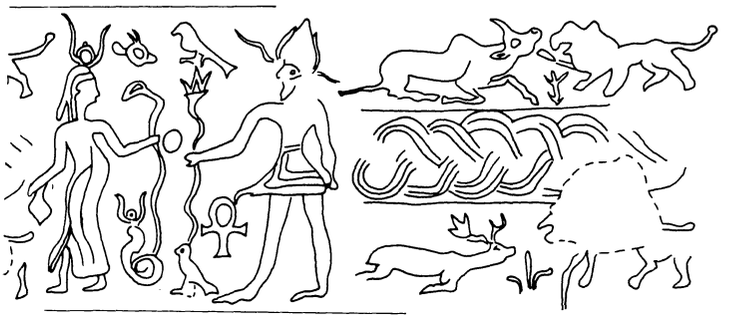

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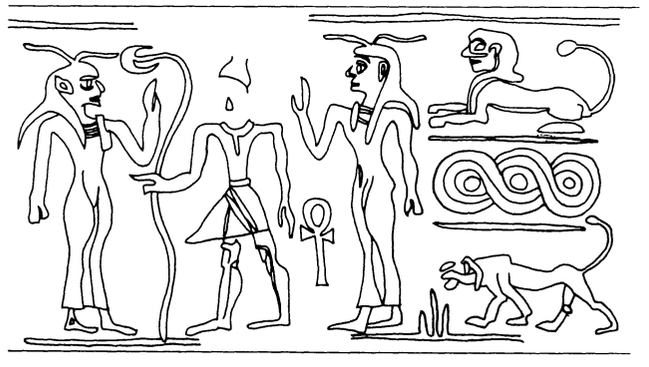

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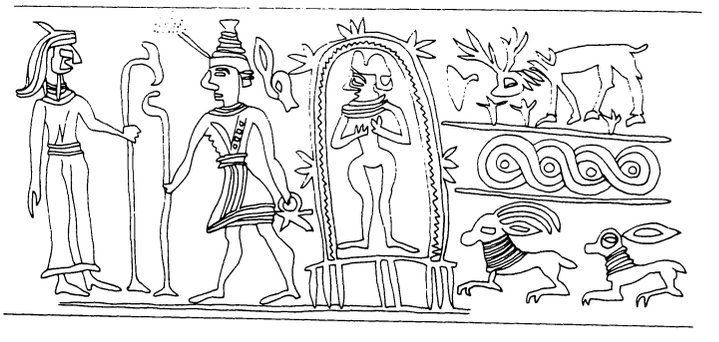

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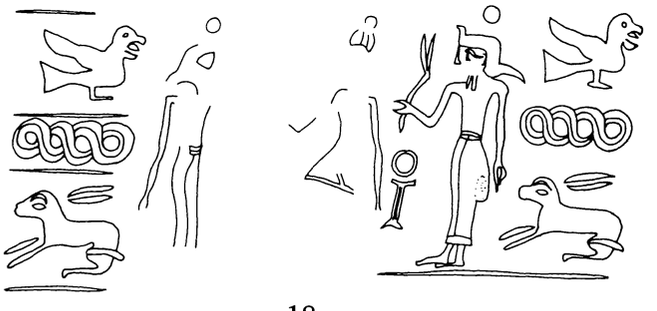

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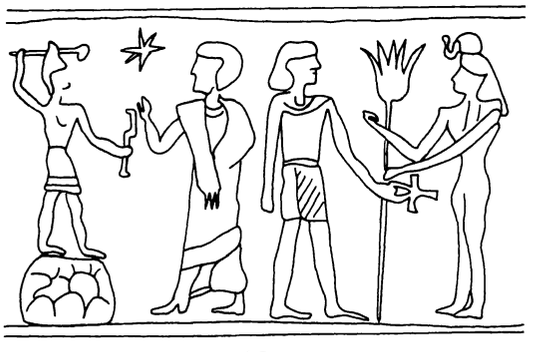

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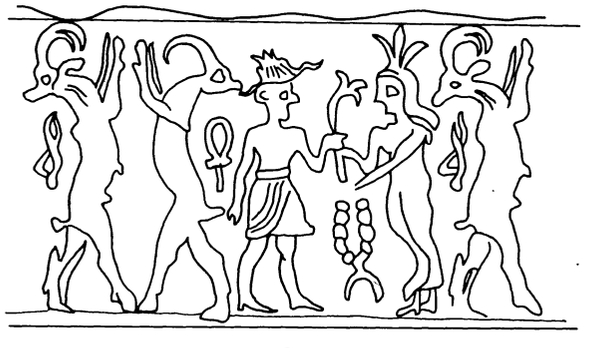

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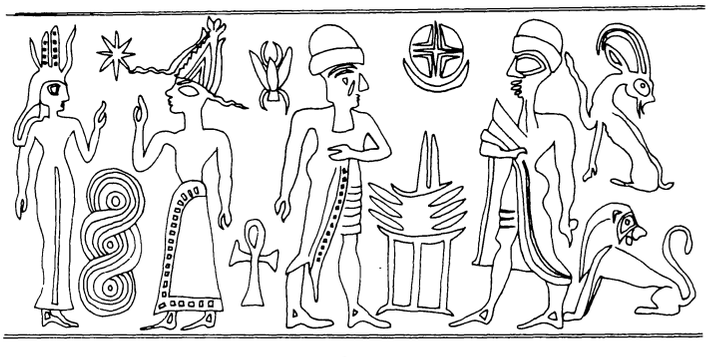

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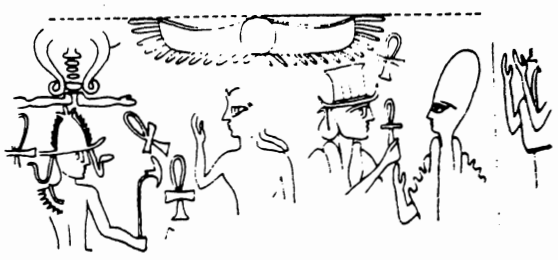

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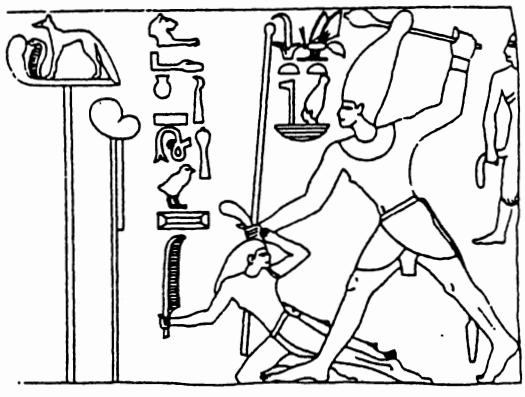
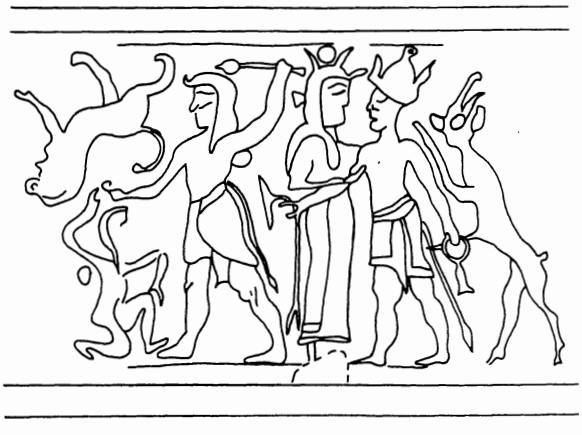


1h



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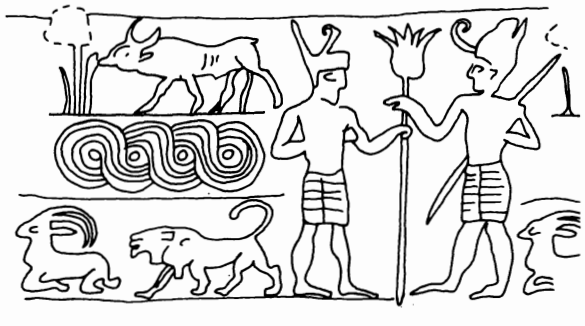

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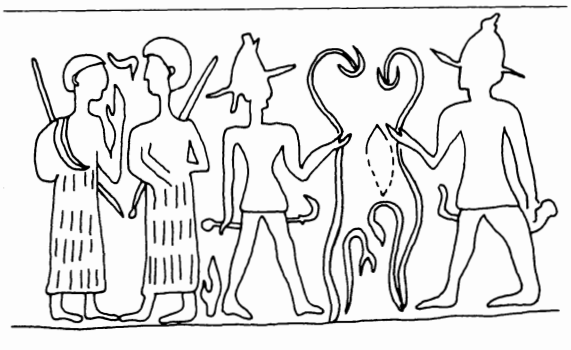

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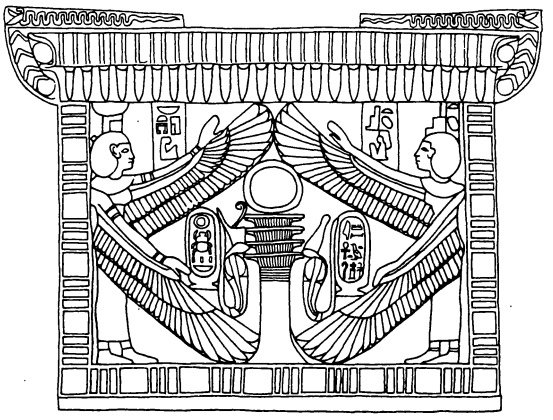
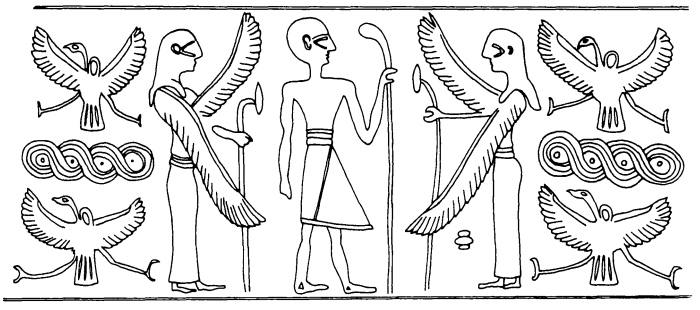


1i



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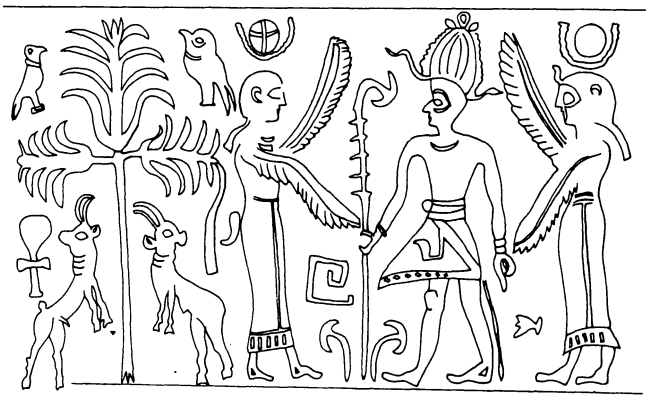

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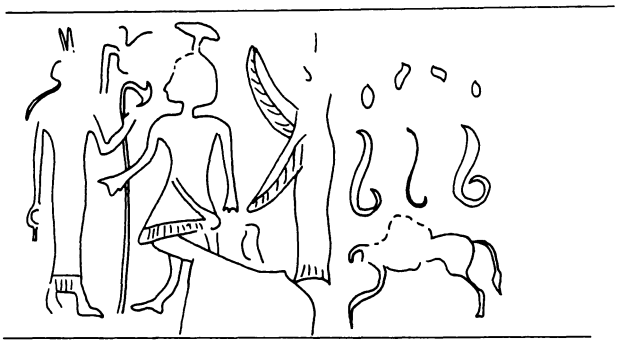

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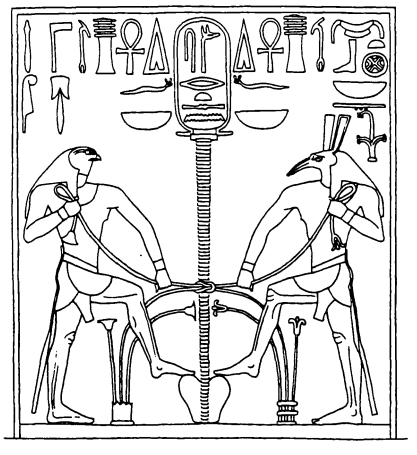

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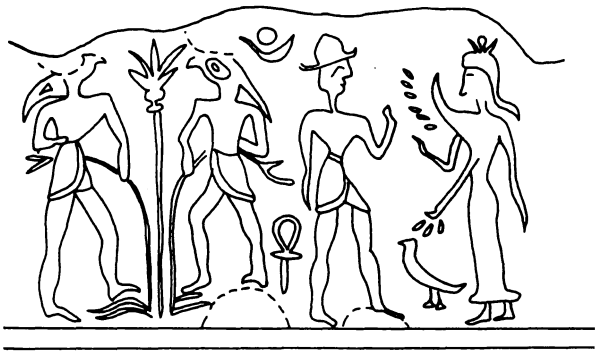


30

Pharaoh to the gods or vice versa in the royal cult (Lacau and Chevrier 1969: nos. 14, 23). Here, neither the offerings nor the interaction between the figures is conventional. For example, on **12** the goddess holds out a conical loaf and a stag, while the Pharaoh holds out a lotus (**1f**). A stag would not be offered in this context, nor would the Pharaoh hold out a plant or flail (e.g. **15**). The mutual proffering of plants as on **13**, for example, is again not conventionally Egyptian. On **17** the Pharaoh holds an *ankh*, but none of the figures' other attributes or stances are rendered in an Egyptian manner. Seals **14** and **21** show the Pharaoh and the Egyptian goddess in similar close association but without Egyptianising details. On **14**, the Pharaoh holds a curved staff which the goddess also touches, and on **21** they stand with their hands raised in an identical gesture, palms outwards. In Egyptian iconography, this mark of respect or blessing of one figure before another would not be shown at the same time on two figures.

A lioness goddess is represented on **2** in a general cultic context with the Pharaoh and other deities. A specific identification is not possible (see Chapter 6 and Appendix A), but, to my knowledge, this is the only occurrence of such a goddess in the whole body of published Syro-Levantine seals.

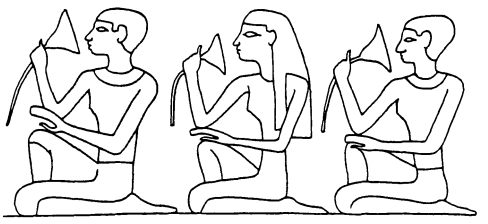
The single- and double-winged paired goddesses on **27–30** are strongly evocative of Isis and Nephtys in mortuary contexts (see Chapter 6 and Appendix A). The representations of these goddesses on Middle Bronze Age seals is very significant, for to date winged anthropomorphic females with the characteristics of Isis and Nephtys have not been attested in Middle Kingdom Egypt. This is explored at greater length below.

Miscellaneous Egyptianising scenes with the Pharaoh

On **24** the Pharaoh is duplicated while engaged in different ritual actions. As in Egypt, he is correspondingly dressed differently. But whereas the juxtaposition of the Pharaohs on **2** is intelligible in Egyptian terms, the immediate juxtaposition of the Pharaoh embraced with the Pharaoh smiting on **24** (**1h**) is not. Each is a separate Egyptian episode brought together by the seal-cutter. On **25** even though each of the two Pharaohs wears a different crown as they would if paired in Egypt, the context of the scene, where they hold a plant in the Levantine manner, has been wholly Syrianised, as has **26**. Again, the duplication of the Pharaoh on **8** is wholly un-Egyptian, even though the stance of the single Pharaoh is Egyptianising. Here, the second Pharaoh has been completely removed from his Egyptian context. Another example of a non-Egyptian juxtaposition of motifs occurs on **30**, where a Pharaoh-like figure with an Isis/Nephtys-type stand beside two Hawk-headed gods holding on to shoots issuing from a palm tree. This motif is derived from representations of Horus and Seth, or Thoth, binding the papyrus (*sma*) of Upper and Lower Egypt (Middle Kingdom: Lange and Hirmer 1967: Pls. 85, 86) (**1j**). Both gods on this seal may have been Hawk-headed (cf. Collon 1982b: no. 117 from Late Bronze Age Alalakh). An unusual theme appears on **31**, where the Egyptianising figures in *afnet* head-cloths holding royal attributes behind the Pharaoh may be derived from images of the Pharaoh followed by human or hawk or jackal-headed protective ancestors (souls of Pe and Nekhem) (**1k**) (Habachi 1963: 45–6, Fig. 22; Bisson de la Roque 1937: Fig. 49; or alternatively various kneeling figures found in banquet or funerary scenes (**1l**).

Seals **32** and **33** show the Pharaoh with an Egyptian male, but in wholly Syrianised contexts. On **32** the Egyptianising group is juxtaposed with a Syro-Mesopotamian pair (cf. **21**) while on **33** the Pharaoh and the figure opposite him kneel in a scene reminiscent of Workshop A iconography.

1k



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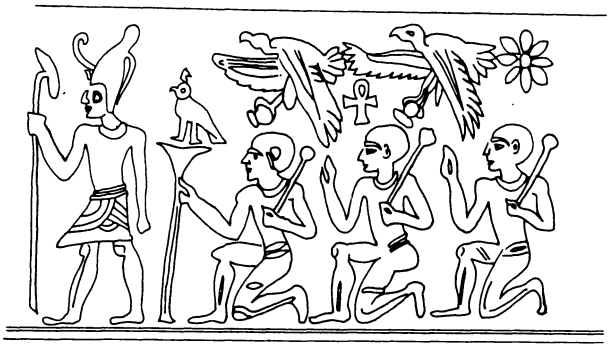

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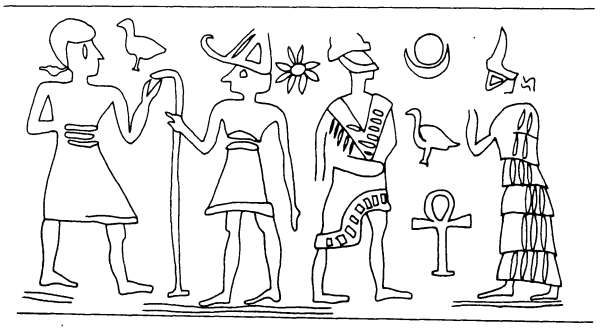

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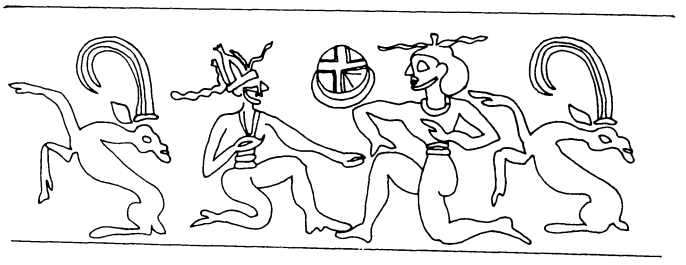

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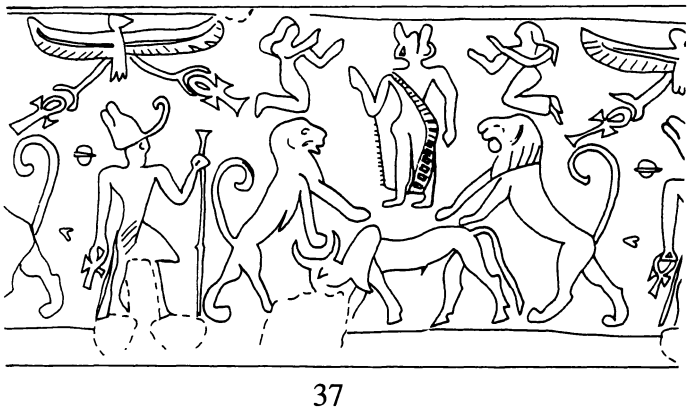


37

5.2 EGYPTIAN FIGURES, SYMBOLS AND MOTIFS IN SYRO-LEVANTINE CONTEXTS

The principal aims of this section are to show 1) whether Egyptian iconography was treated in any respect differently from other elements in the Syro-Levantine glyptic repertoire and 2) how figures and symbols from Egyptian iconography interacted with other elements from this repertoire.

5.2.1 The Pharaoh

With Mesopotamian and Syrian deities (**34–44**)

On these seals, the Pharaoh is associated with standard divine figures from Syrian iconography – Winged, Nude, Suppliant goddesses; Warrior deity; Weather god. He is most often associated with the Winged and Nude goddesses. This association and his position in the field beside the goddesses (e.g. **38**, **39**, **40**, **41**) is equivalent to that of the Syrian ruler or of the Weather god on other Syrian seals (Marcopoli: nos. 443, 444, 446; Buchanan 1966: no. 883). The link with the Weather god is also reflected in the Pharaoh's iconography in different contexts: on **48** he has been given the Weather god's long, curled pigtail and a Levantine kilt. On **43**, the Pharaoh stands within an arch of *ankhs* (cf. **4**) flanked by two Mesopotamian Suppliant goddesses. His association with the Suppliant goddesse, who also appears on **47** and **51**, derives from his status as a ruler and his association with Levantine rulers (e.g. **49**, **51**). On **36**, the Pharaoh is enthroned holding a cup, in the manner of some Syrian deities and deified rulers (cf. **111**). His attitude has been wholly Syrianised.

The Pharaoh's gestures and attributes in these contexts usually imply deference or greeting, as in the raised hand (**35**, **38**, **43**); parity, as in attributes in both hands (**48**, **49**) and superiority (**36**). A militant aspect of the Pharaoh is stressed on **44** by his trident spear, and the military nature of the two principal figures by the row of marching men in the lower register of the terminal. This motif is characteristic of scenes connected with warfare (e.g. Buchanan 1966: nos. 894, 895; see also Chapter 4).

With Levantine and Mesopotamian divine and secular rulers (**43–65**)

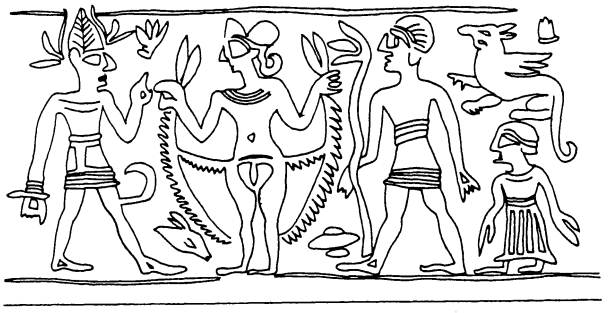
On **45** and **48** the Pharaoh is associated with figures identified as divine ancestors (Teissier 1987b: 60, nos. 440, 457, 507), and on **51** with the Figure with a mace, a type of ruler derived from Mesopotamian iconography, whose status in Syrian iconography may have been divine. The Pharaoh's role is secondary: he stands behind the right-hand ancestor on **45**, the deity or ruler on **46**, and behind the Figure with the mace on **51**. On **47** the Pharaoh is associated, as a minor motif, with the secular figure of the Syrian ruler in the tall, oval head-dress, and on **49**, **50** and **58** with the figure in a costume characteristic of western-Syrian rulers. The Pharaoh's position *vis-à-vis* the bare-headed rulers and officials on **53–62** is more ambiguous. He can appear as a deity or as a patron (**53**, **54**, **60-62**), as the focus of attention (**55**), or in secondary roles (**56–9**). On **61** and **62**, the Pharaoh's role is not identical.

The paired Pharaohs' (**63–6**) associations and context are very similar to those encountered so far. The Pharaoh is either directly or indirectly associated with Mesopotamian deities (the Suppliant goddess **65**, **66**); and Levantine figures (rulers in tall oval head-dresses **63**, **64** ; bare-headed rulers or officials (**65**). The pairing of the Pharaohs in these contexts adheres to a Syrian convention applied to Levantine rulers (e.g. Marcopoli: nos. 440, 443, 447) and the Pharaohs are usually identically dressed. The tripling of the Pharaoh (**67**) belongs to the same Syrian convention (e.g. Marcopoli: no. 478). The context here – standing before a hawk or griffin-headed demon – is unusual even for the figures with whom the Pharaoh is iconographically linked in Syrian contexts, the ruler or the Weather god.

Summary

The Egyptian king or Pharaoh appears in Egyptianising and Levantine contexts, with attitudes and attributes that are either Egyptianising or that have been taken from the Syrian repertoire. The Egyptian iconography can either be closely modelled on original prototypes or only evoke them.

Three principal questions arise in connection with the figure of the Pharaoh: to what extent his Egyptian identity was a significant factor; whether he was represented as a secular or as a deified figure, or both; and what his status was within the Syrian repertoire. The second and third points need to be discussed before the third can be answered.



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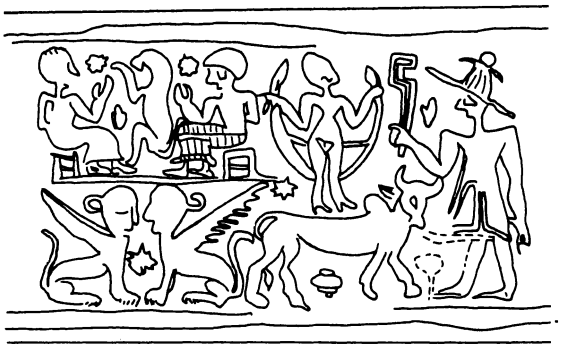

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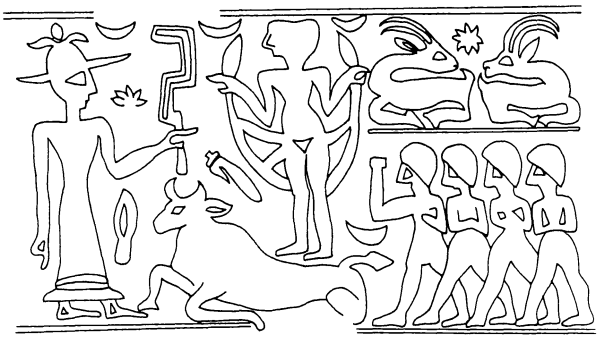

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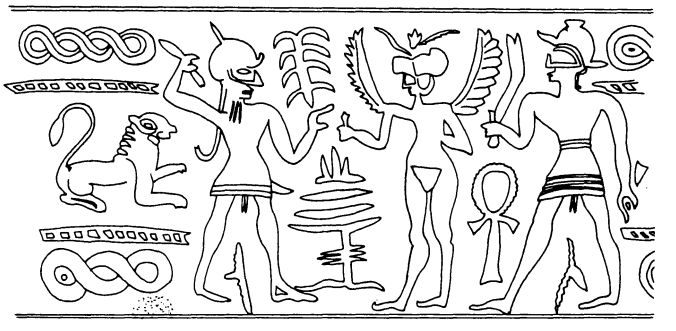

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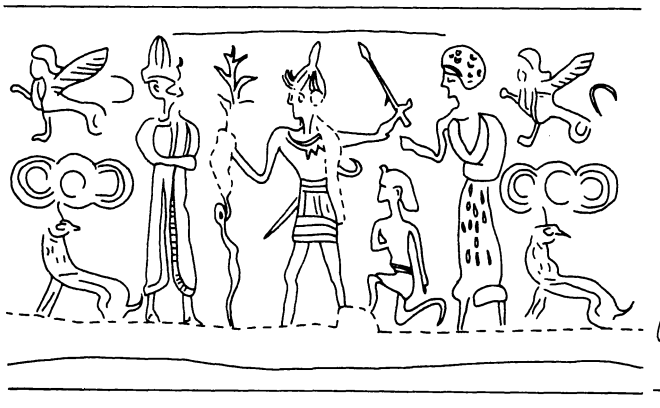

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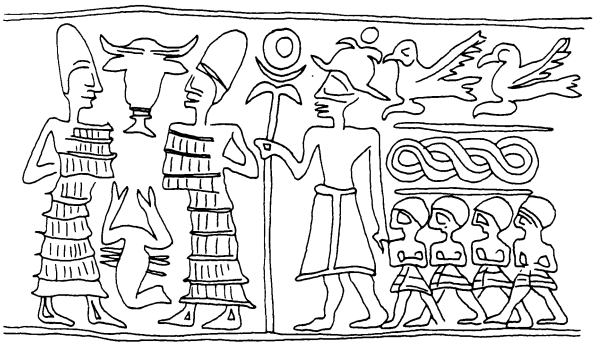

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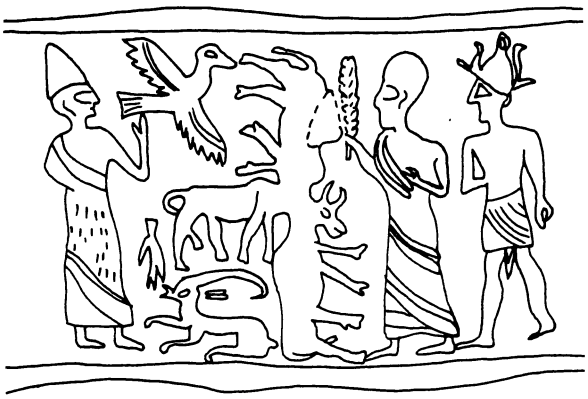

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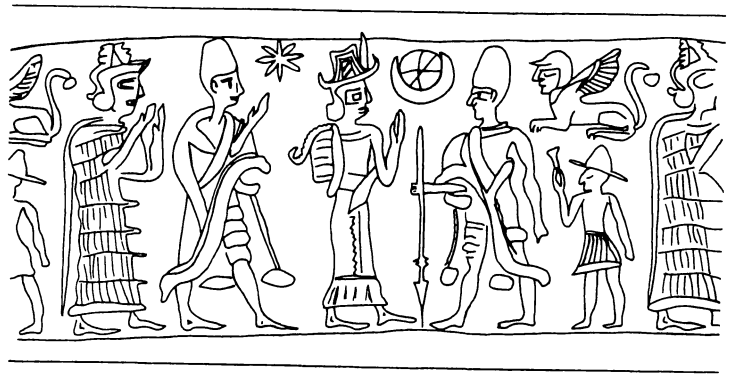

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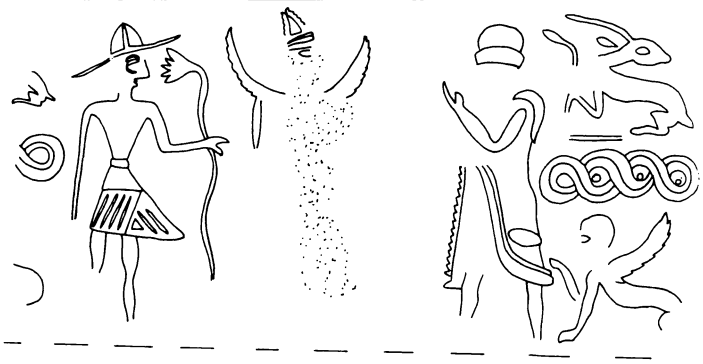

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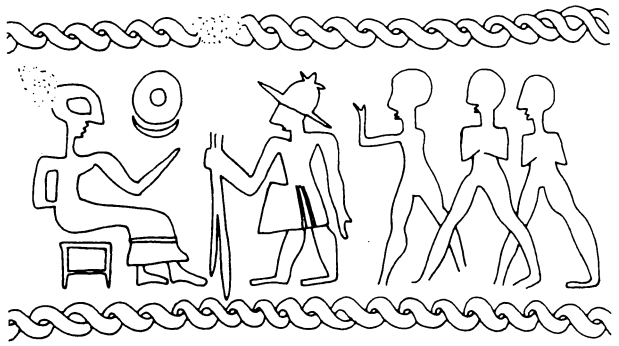

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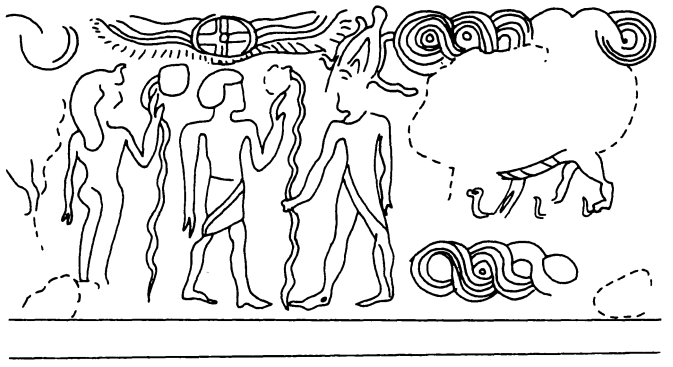

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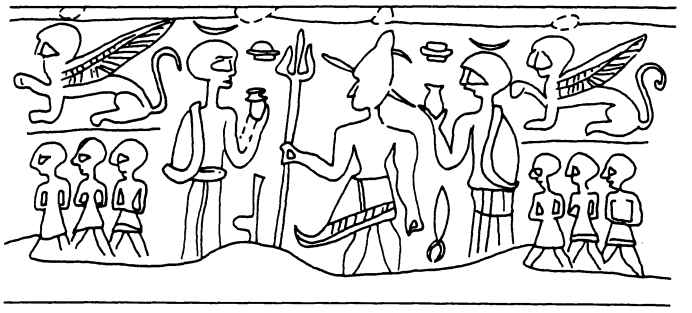

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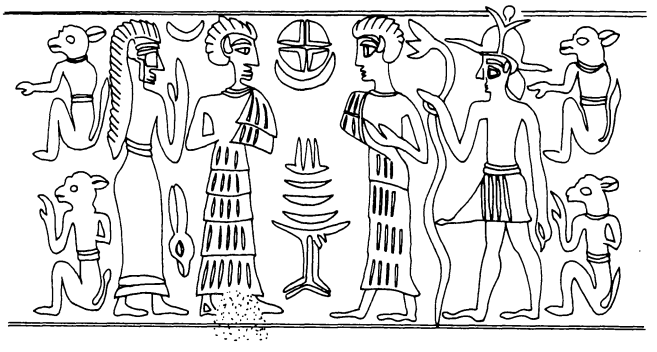

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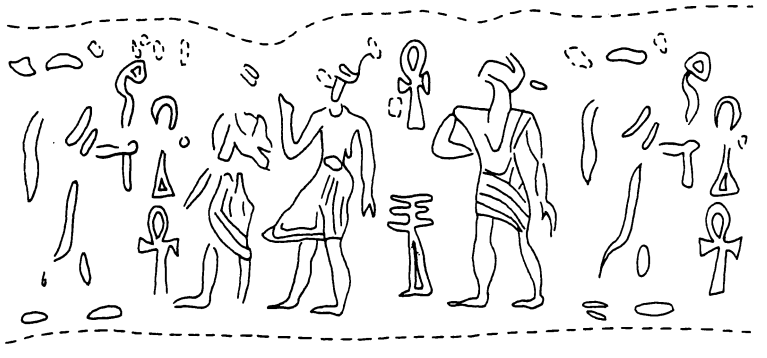

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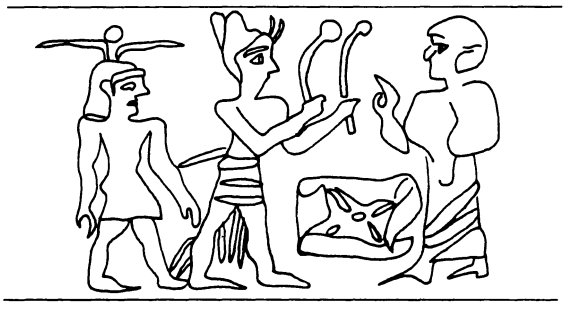

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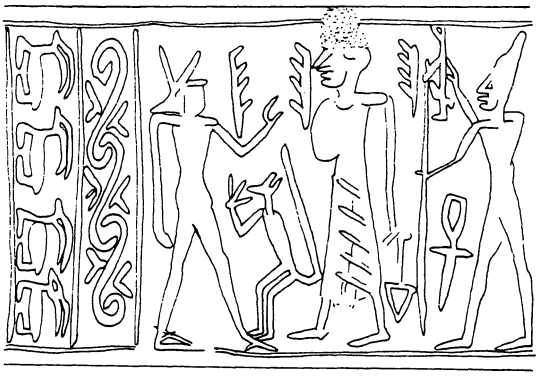

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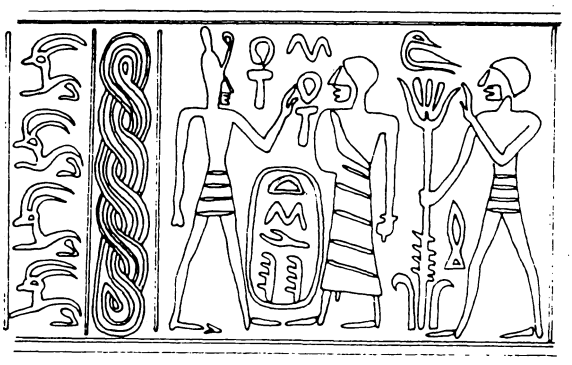

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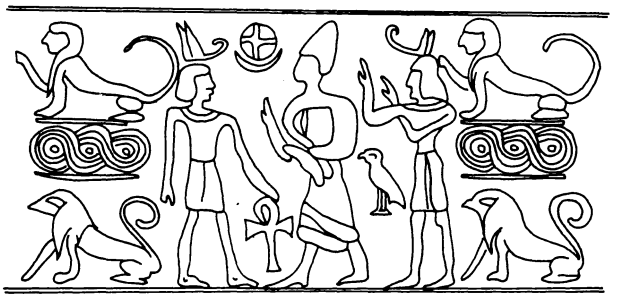

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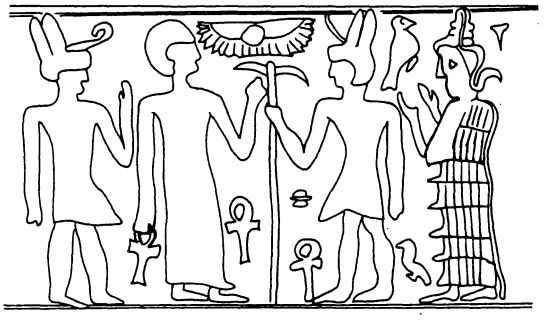

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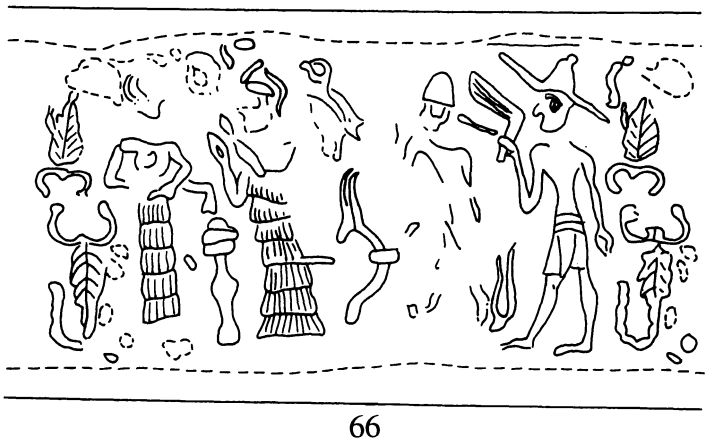

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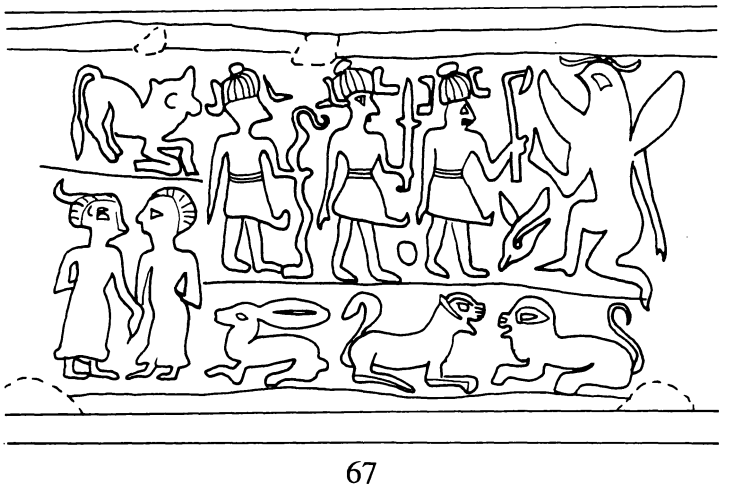


67

The Pharaoh is shown wearing a number of Egyptian crowns (see Chapter 6), but by far his most usual crown on Syro-Levantine glyptic was the horned *atef*. This is an important clue to his significance in Syrian glyptic. In Egypt, this crown was essentially characteristic of Osiris; other deities, such as Horus or Ptah, also wear it, but far less frequently. It was worn by the king at the Jubilee festival, and in mortuary contexts when the king was assimilated to Osiris (Nelson 1981: Pls. 12, 68, 70, 96, 192). Thus the crown was primarily divine, related to concepts of rejuvenation and eternity, and indicated special status. This special status is compatible with all representations of the Pharaoh with Egyptian deities on Syrian seals. With Syro-Levantine deities, however, the Pharaoh's horned *atef* crown was probably sometimes recognised or perceived just as a divine horned crown: these were characteristic of many deities in the Syro-Levantine repertoire (e.g. **59**, Reshef; the Weather god). The Pharaoh's relationship with non-Egyptian figures and particularly with different types of secular and divine rulers is the next important clue to his significance. This linking of types, given that the Pharaoh was a ruler himself, is straightforward, but his identity and status within this group is more subtle. On all these seals, except for **57** (triple) and **59** (ram's horns and disc), the Pharaoh wears the *atef*. In the Pharaoh's association with divine rulers his best parallel is with the Figure or king with the mace; both were of foreign origin. Within this grouping of rulers, the Pharaoh was not normally of the first rank: he appears as an attendant with the divine ancestor (e.g. **45**), in a subsidiary role with the Figure with the mace (**51**), and behind secular rulers (e.g. **46**, **47**, **50**) and a high ranking female (**49**). With bare-headed rulers and officials, his status can also either be one of parity, perhaps patronage (e.g. **60**) and superiority (e.g. **55**, **61**) or be secondary (e.g. **56**, **57**). The same Syrian iconographical devices, such as doubling or enthronement used in the representation of Levantine and Mesopotamian rulers, are used for the Pharaoh.

The Pharaoh also appears as a secular or divine ruler with the Winged and Nude goddesses, as does the Syrian ruler. The pairing of the Syrian ruler and of the Pharaoh with the Egyptian goddess was equivalent, and this resulted in the intermingling of the two couples. His role here takes on an extra dimension, for he can take on the aspect of the Weather god (e.g. **48**), a feature that also applies to Syrian rulers (Williams-Forte, personal communication, from her unpublished thesis). On **59** the Pharaoh stands behind Reshef, possibly in the guise of a Weather god. An even better example of the degree to which the Pharaoh was adapted to the wide range of Syrian iconography is scene with the hawk or griffin-demon on **67**.

Thus the Pharaoh occurs 1) as the Egyptian ruler associated with Egyptian deities in a manner that conforms fairly closely to Egyptian iconographical norms (**1–5**). This is rare. 2) He is the Egyptian ruler associated with Egyptian deities in a manner that conforms loosely to Egyptian iconography (e.g. **6** ff.). 3) He is a possibly divine but also a secular ruler with Syrian and Mesopotamian deities, rulers and officials (e.g. **34**, **51**, **54**, **61** etc.). 4) He is a type of Weather god (e.g. **48**) and 5) a figure in a scene with a hawk or griffin-demon (**67**). Points 4) and 5) are linked. His incorporation in points 3–5 are not random, but comply with established Syrian iconographic norms.

There is nothing in the treatment of the Pharaoh in Syro-Levantine iconography to indicate a political attitude to this figure. On the contrary: his versatility in this repertoire, which is far greater than that of the other 'foreign ruler/king' figure in the repertoire, the Mesopotamian Figure with a mace, suggests otherwise. While the Pharaoh's Egyptian identity or origin was presumably recognised and led him to being considered both as a divine and secular ruler figure, the figure of the Pharaoh appears to have been sufficiently iconographically inspiring in itself to be identified as a type of Weather god.

5.2.2 Egyptian gods (**68–78**)

(1) Horus
(2) Hawk-headed deities with characteristics of Horus the royal god
(3) The Hawk-headed deity in the *atef*-like crown
(4) Montu
(5) Khnum
(6) The lion-headed god
(7) Seth

The gods in this section are all anthropomorphic and have animal heads. Most have distinct and unambiguous iconographies (see Chapter 6).

(1) Horus (**68–72**)

Horus is predominantly associated with rulers. He is directly associated with the ruler in the tall oval head-dress on **68**, and with the same and a bare-headed probable ruler on **70**. On **71** he appears with an official or ruler. His gestures on **68–71** are straightforwardly derived from Egyptian gestures of blessing, protection and offering which Horus (**3s**) and other gods adopt with the Pharaoh (**1a**, **1f**). On **70** and **72** he is passive, as a statue on a plinth and as the object of worship respectively. The Hawk-headed god in a solar crown (**5**) has been discussed on p. 50.

(2) Hawk-headed deities with characteristics of Horus the royal god (**60**, **62**, **73–5**)

These deities all wear wigs but do not wear traditional Egyptian crowns. The deities' gestures (arm half or fully raised) and associations with a ruler (**60**, **62**), the tree (**73**), a symbol associated with rulership in the Levant, and a naked figure (**71**, **75**, cf. **72**) suggest an affinity with Horus the royal god, but nevertheless with a separate identity, probable Levantine. Similar, perhaps related, crownless Hawk-headed deities are a popular subject on XIIIth Dynasty – IInd Intermediate period scarabs from Palestine (Tufnell 1984: e.g. Pl. XLIV: 10A; Keel 1989b) (**1m**, **1n**).

(3) The Hawk-headed deity in the *atef*-like crown (**76**)

The identity of this god is not clear because the details of his Egyptianising crown, which may be spurious, are not shown. The crown nevertheless resembles the Osirian *atef*, such as worn by the Sokar, the god of the Memphite necropolis (Mariette 1869: Salle D). On this seal the god is associated with a bare-headed figure of a type belonging to nature scenes. The symbols on the seal are ones of fertility (fish, ears of corn) and celestial (stars), and these associations could be plausibly applied to a chthonic and fertility deity such as Sokar but this may be coincidental. The identity of the deity on this seal remains ambivalent.

(4) Montu (**77**)

Montu (**1o**, **3u**) in his distinctive solar and plume crown, stands behind the ruler as a patron deity and perhaps as a representative of the crown (see Chapter 3 for a more comprehensive discussion of this seal).

(5) Khnum (**77**, **78**?)

The iconography of the horned deity on **77** corresponds closely to that of Khnum (**1o**, **3w**). On this seal he appears as the principal patron deity of the ruler, who stands before him. He blesses him and carries the *sḫm*, a sceptre of authority normally held by the Pharaoh or high officials, perhaps as an indication of the power he invests in the ruler (see Chapter 3). On **78**, a ram-headed deity whose iconography may be based on that of Khnum, stands behind the Nude goddess. This association, in contrast to Khnum on **77**, is linked to the god's fertility nature.

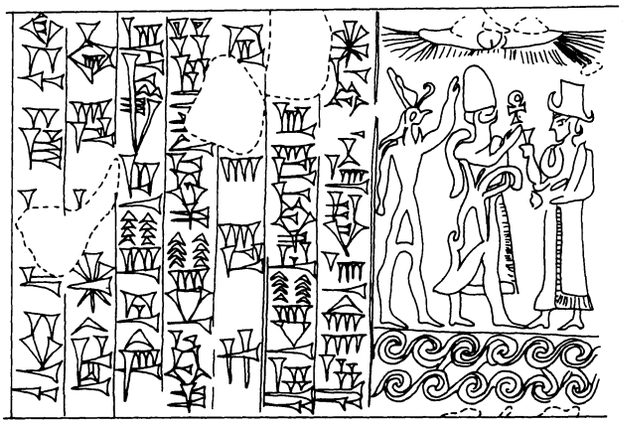
(6) The lion-headed god (**5**) (**3y**) See p. 50.

(7) Seth (**5**, **236**) (**1c**, **3x**)

The anthropomorphic god has been discussed on p. 50. On **236**, the Seth animal is depicted heraldically (cf. Aldred 1978: Fig. 39) before the bare-headed figure of the ruler in the mantle.

Summary

This survey has shown that a wide range of Egyptian gods, some unusual (lion-headed), occur in Levantine glyptic, but more often than not in single instances. Four of the gods appear on only two seals that are special cases (**5**, **77**). The most frequently represented Egyptian god is Horus or a Hawk-headed god with the attributes of Horus, the royal god. The god's association with Egyptian figures in an Egyptianising context is self-explanatory. His connection with Levantine rulers in his guise as royal or patron deity implies that this aspect of the deity was recognised in the Levant (see Chapter 3). The general paucity of Egyptian male deities incorporated into the Syro-Levantine repertoire is surely significant: they seem to be represented in terms directly relating to Egypt (with the exception of an aspect of Khnum and sometimes the Hawk-headed god), suggesting that the position of Syrian male gods, notably the storm god, was unassailable.



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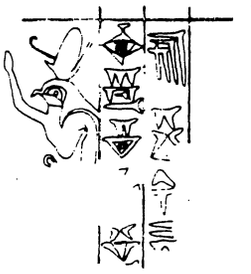

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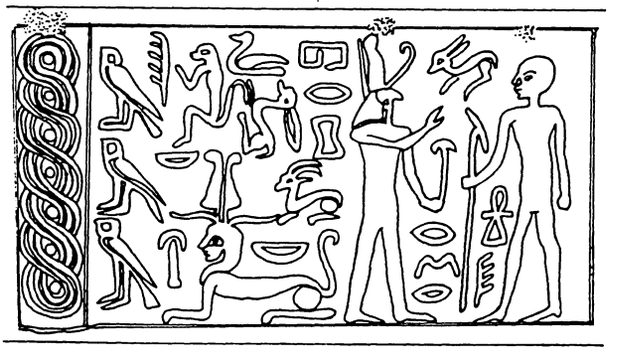

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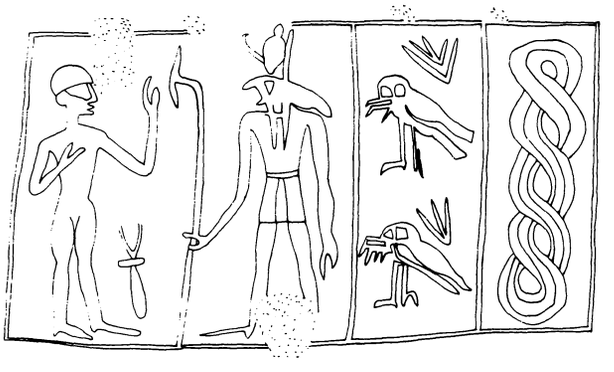

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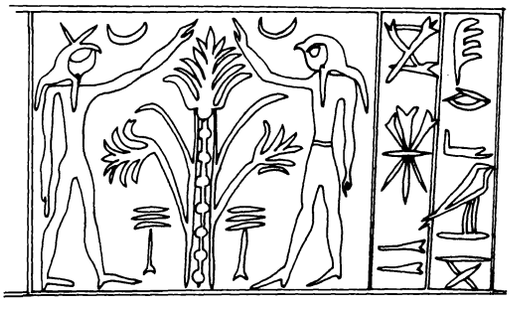

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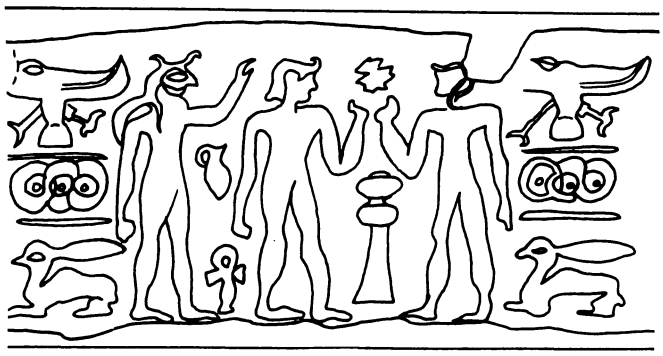

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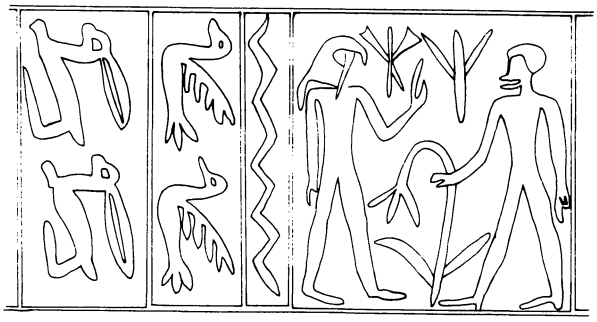

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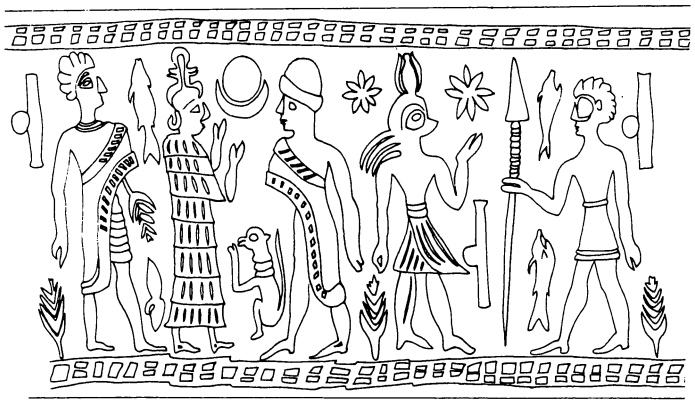

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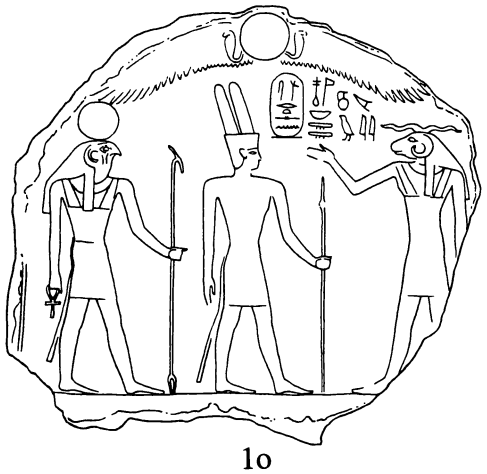

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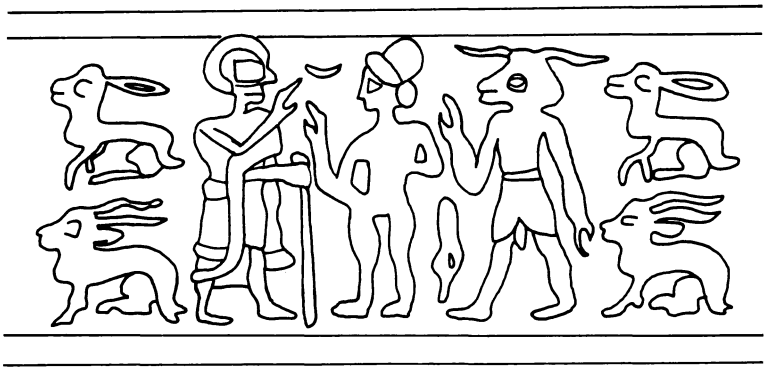

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5.2.3 Egyptian and Egyptianising goddesses (**79–127**)

(1) The goddess in the Hathor crown
(2) The goddess in the ram's horns crown
(3) The goddess in the floral head-dress
(4) The goddess in the *atef* (?) crown
(5) The goddess in the vulture head-dress
(6) The goddess in the uraeus
(7) The goddess in the wig
(8) Winged goddesses

Introduction

The Egyptian and Egyptianising females discussed below are identified as goddesses because of their iconographies and the contexts in which they appear. The only exception may be the wigged female whose context is sometimes ambivalent.

The distinguishing features of the goddesses are their head-dresses. There is only one example of a zoomorphic deity: a lioness-headed goddess (**2**, see p. 55). The Egyptian identity of goddesses is less straightforward than that of their male counterparts, for the iconography of non-animal-headed goddesses in Egypt is standard and chiefly depends on the evidence of a head-dress and or an accompanying inscription. The same basic types of head-dresses, such as wigs, head-cloths, the vulture head-dress, or the red or white crowns, were worn by various goddesses, while crowns specific to certain goddesses, like Hathor, could be disseminated to other goddesses by the association of their attributes. Goddesses could also be represented without crowns.

Seven main types of crown can be distinguished on these seals: 1) the cow's horns and solar disc; 2) the sun disc; 3) the double plumes and cow's horns; 4) the ram's horns and floral; 5) the cow's horns and floral; 6) the floral; 7) the *atef*. There are also two other types of head-dresses: the vulture and the uraeus. All the goddesses wear a wig or a head-cloth. Of the crowns only 1) and 2) are attested on goddesses during the Middle Kingdom and IInd Intermediate periods (see Appendix A, n. 1). The former is the characteristic crown of Hathor and the latter is worn by Isis. Isis is attested wearing the Hathor crown from the New Kingdom onwards, although Egyptian textual evidence (see Isis in Appendix A), combined with the iconographical data in this corpus, if accepted as evidence, suggests that her iconography was further developed than was previously thought by the IInd Intermediate period or late Middle Bronze Age. Floral and ram's horns crowns are to date attested only in the New Kingdom, but can be plausibly attributed earlier to Hathor. The vulture head-dress, the uraeus and the plain wig were again worn by various goddesses in the Middle Kingdom (see Appendix A, n. 1).

Hathor (**1f**, **1g**, **3a**, **3b**, **4a**, **4b**, **4c**) and Isis (**4d**) are the most likely Egyptian goddesses to have served as prototypes for the Egyptianising goddesses discussed below, as will become clear when their natures and iconographies are described. The multiple aspects of Hathor are particularly appropriate in this context (see Appendix A).

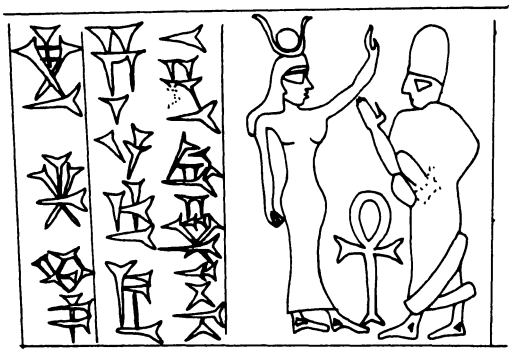
(1) The goddess in the Hathor crown (**79–94**)

With secular rulers (**79–87**)

The goddess either stands behind (**82–5**) or more rarely faces (**79**, **80**, **87**) one of the standard-ruler types encountered with the Pharaoh: the ruler in the high oval head-dress (e.g. **79**, **80**, **82**), the ruler in long mantles (**85**, **87**), adopting gestures of protection, supplication and blessing. On **79**, the goddess's arm is raised in a coronation gesture. Except for **84**, where the goddess appears as a motif rather than as a participant, her standing is on a par with goddesses of the Levantine repertoire, and in a number of instances is akin to that of the Mesopotamian Suppliant goddess, with whom she is sometimes juxtaposed (**81**, **83**, **92**).

With Levantine deities (**88–91**)

The goddess is associated with three of the core deities of the Levantine repertoire: the Syrian, the Winged and the Nude goddesses. On **88** she is evoked as the dispenser of the lustration fluid (cf. **4**, **43**) even though this was not a function normally performed by goddesses in Egyptian iconography. The association with water is again brought out on **91**, where she stands behind a water deity. On **89**, the goddess's touch on the Winged goddess's



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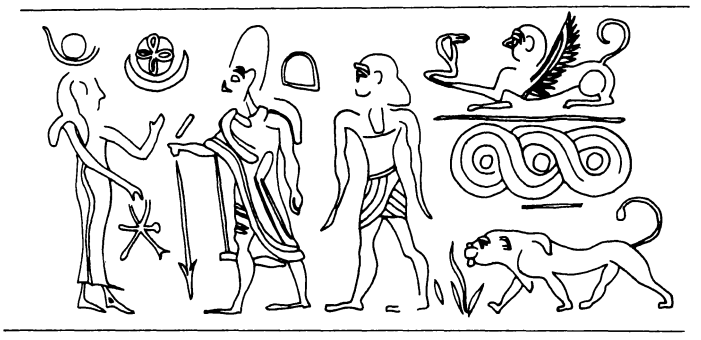

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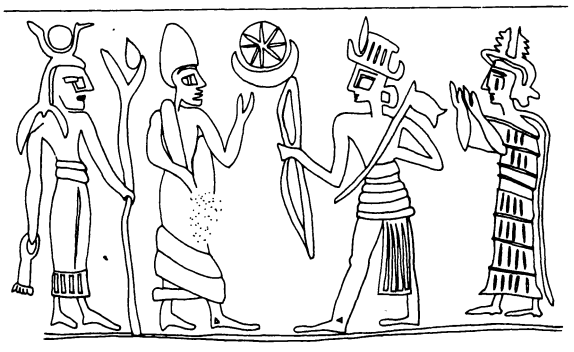

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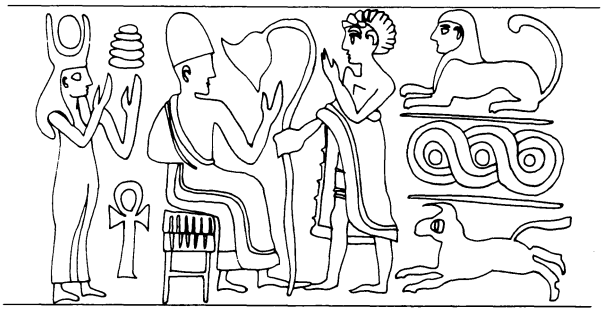

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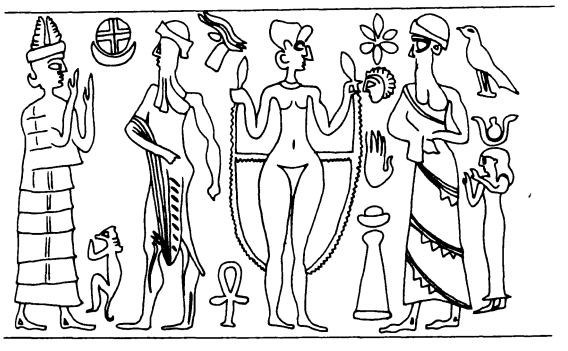

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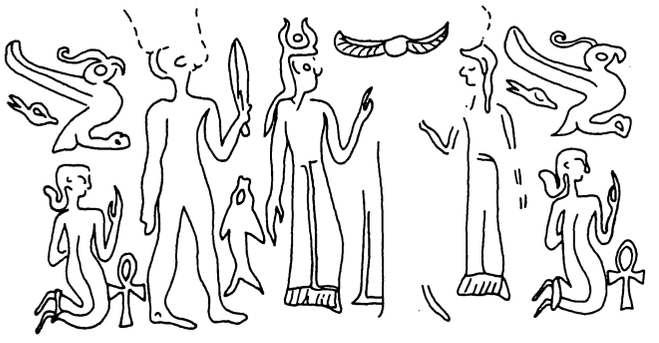

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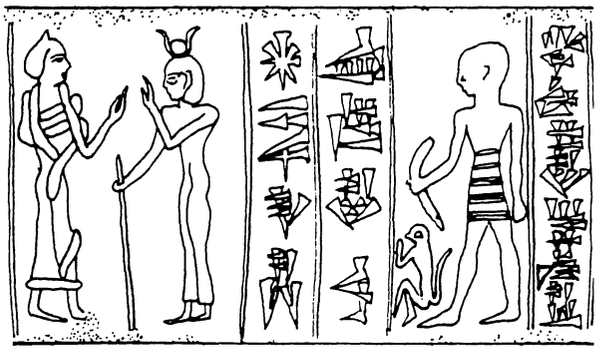

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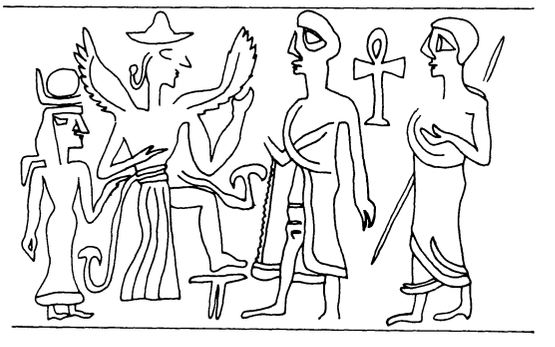

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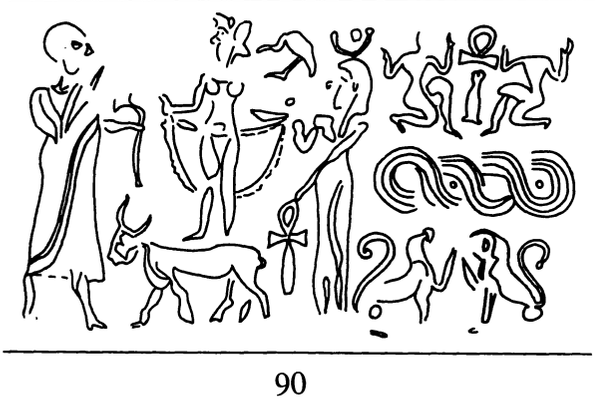

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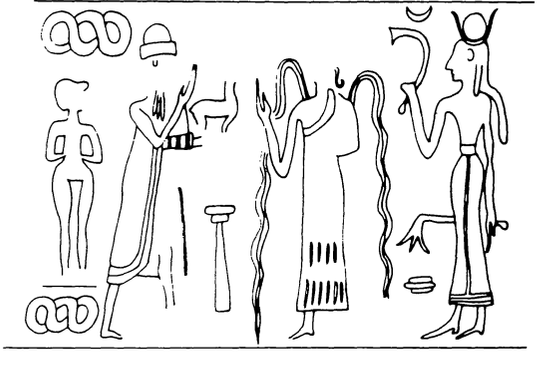

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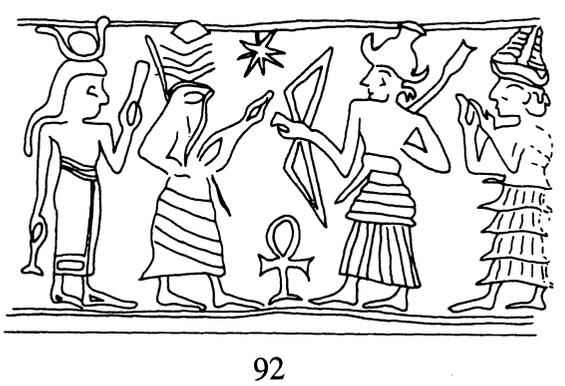

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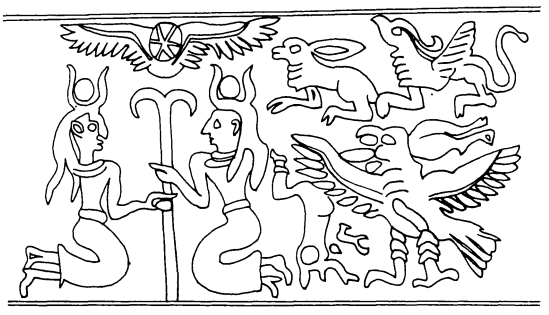

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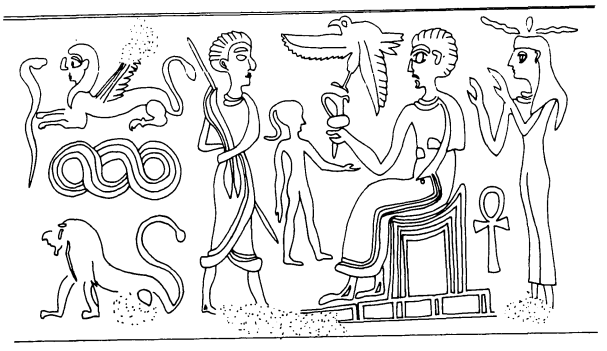

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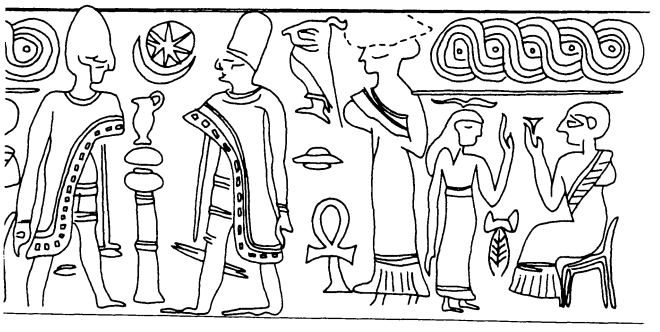

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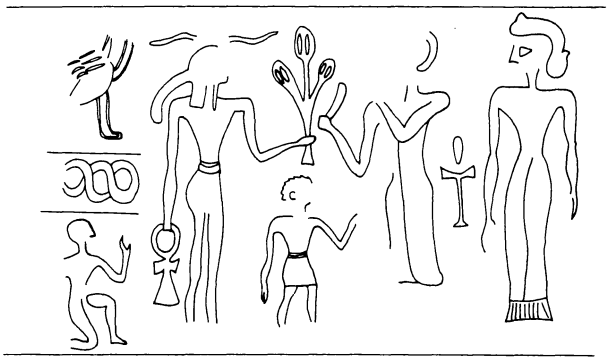

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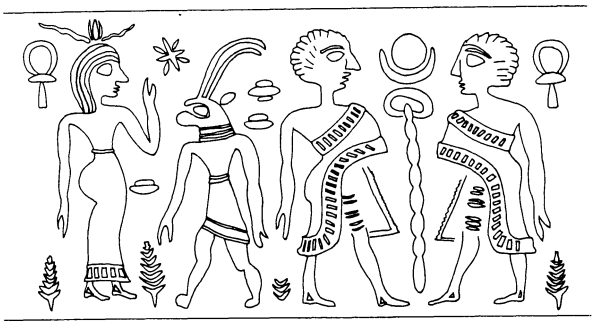

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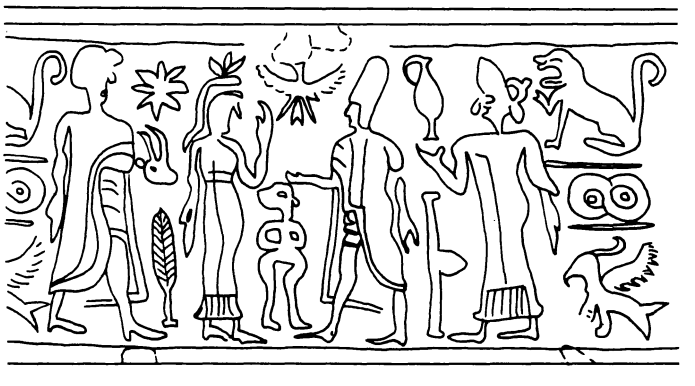

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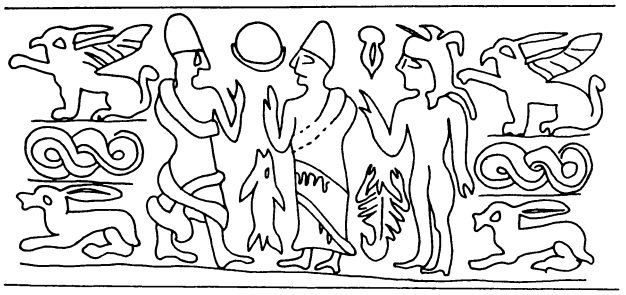

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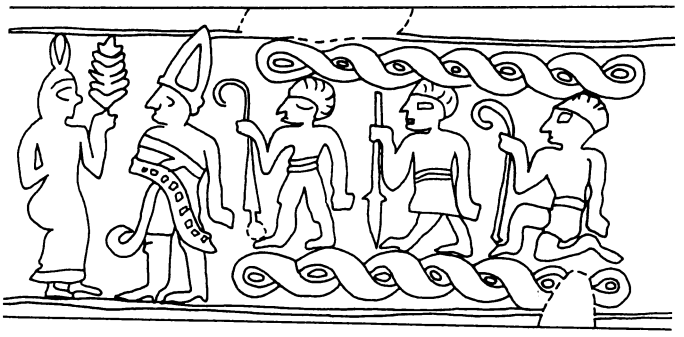

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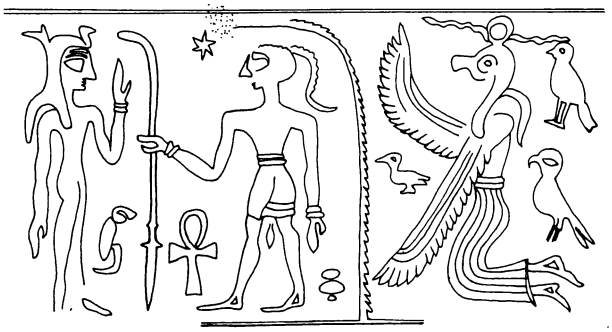

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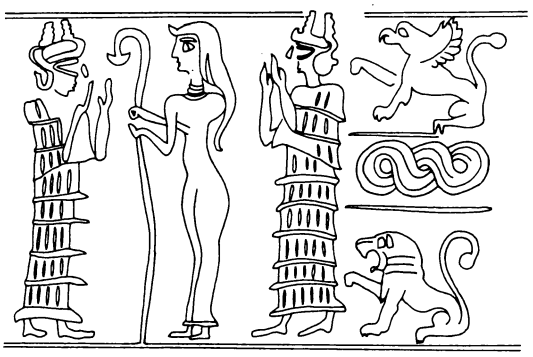

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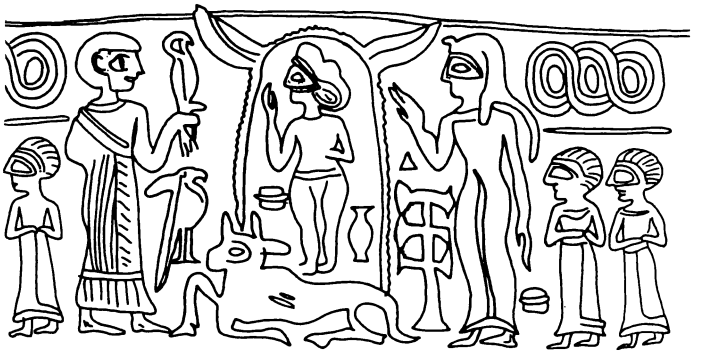

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belt appears to be directly linked to the two lotus plants which either grow from it or are attached to it. On **90**, she is again indirectly paired with a ruler, but stands holding forth an *ankh* beside the Nude goddess. An emphasis on life-giving or fertility is clear in all these cases, but her role is secondary to those of the other deities.

With animal headed deities (**92, 93, 256**)
Here the goddess is linked, as an attendant (**92**) and as presenting a lotus offering (**93**), with a Hawk-headed deity and a bull-demon, figures possibly from the realm of 'nature mythology'. On **256** the Egyptian goddess is shown between two Egyptianised griffins. This matches the goddess's other links with 'nature', but it also shows the deliberate Egyptianisation of the griffins (see p. 119 and Chapter 7). The goddess's functions in these context are familiar, but her associations show a degree of integration into Syro-Levantine religion or mythology that was not shared by the Suppliant goddess, the other major foreign goddess of the Syro-Levantine repertoire.

With the palm (**94**)
The association of the two identical goddesses with the palm above, which is a winged sun disc, merges two different traditions: Syro-Levantine and Egyptian. The symbolism of the tree with the winged sun disc was developed in the Levant (see winged sun disc), albeit from eclectic sources; but the association of the goddesses in the Hathor crown with this motif relates directly to Hathor's role as a tree goddess. This is graphically portrayed on seal **202**. The pairing of figures with this particular symbol is again a Syro-Levantine convention.

Summary: The goddess in the Hathor crown fulfilled two principal roles in Syro-Levantine contexts: first, that of patroness, not on a par with the Syrian goddess who was the supreme patroness of Syrian rulers portrayed on royal seals, but on a par with, for example, the Suppliant goddess on ordinary if not royal seals (see Chapter 3) and second that of a goddess linked to water, life-giving and plants. This aspect of her nature was integrated at several levels: she was associated with major deities as well as with animal-headed figures and symbols probably characteristic of 'nature mythology'.

(2) The goddess in the ram's horns crown (**95–100**)

With rulers (**95–8**)
The goddess appears with two types of ruler: the ruler in the bonnet (**95**), but particularly the bare-headed ruler or figure (**96–8**). On **95** she offers conical loaves as if to the Pharaoh (cf. **12**). Her standing in this group is that of a major deity: she plays a principal role in all the scenes.

With a Mesopotamian deity (**99**)
The goddess offers a wheat sheaf to a deity who is holding a staff and a coiled snake. The deity's combined attributes evoke the rod and ring, Mesopotamian symbols of power held by a number of different deities (Van Buren 1945: L2R: 156–7). The actual identity of the god is obscure, although the snake is traditionally linked to fertility and the underworld.

With an ibex (**100**)
The goddess blesses or salutes an ibex deity who, like the bull deity (cf. **93**), belongs to the realm of imaginary nature figures.

Summary: The goddess occurs in contexts that are partly similar to those of the goddess with the Hathor crown, but the emphasis is different. The goddess is associated with progeny, such as the child on **96** and **98**, and with fertility, emphasised by the ram's horns. The subsidiary symbols in the field on these seals – scorpion, plants, hares, monkey and bird – also emphasise nature, and the stars by their heads (**95**, **100**), point to an astral connection.

(3) The goddess in the floral head-dress (**20**, **101–4**)

With rulers (**101–3**)
In this group, the goddesses are exclusively associated with rulers in tall, oval head-dresses, and play primary roles. The goddess on **20** is similarly associated with the Pharaoh.

With deities (**104**)
The goddess, who also wears the uraeus, is associated in a secondary role with Levantine deities, standing behind the winged deity (cf. **89**). The predominance of figures on this seal, which may evoke Anat and Yatpan (?) from

the Ugaritic myth of Aqhat (Williams-Forte 1976: no. 63), if not merely coincidental, shows that she could also be integrated into such a mythological context.

Summary: The goddesses' Levantine associations in this group have more in common with the goddess in the Hathor crown (Group 1: ruler in the tall, oval head-dress, the winged deity) than with those wearing the ram's horns head-dress (Group 2), although the plant attribute and the symbols associated with the goddesses in the floral head-dresses – star, antelope head, plant, scorpion, monkey and diminutive Nude goddess – are related to those of Group 2, and similarly emphasise nature.

(4) The goddess in the *atef*(?) crown (**105**)

This goddess is represented in a primary role before two rulers: the Weather god, and the Nude goddess, who turns her face towards the goddess. Both are behind her. Her role in this grouping can be compared to aspects of goddesses in Groups 1–3, 5 and 6. This scene does not allow any inference about specific aspects of her nature, except that her status was primary.

(5) The goddess in the vulture head-dress (**106**)

The symbolism of this scene, where the goddess stands before a youth protected by a kneeling ram-headed deity, is linked to that of the goddesses in Group 2 and similarly evokes the patronage of youth or progeny.

(6) The goddess in the uraeus (**54, 63, 107–9**)

With rulers (**54, 63**)
The goddess is associated in a primary role with the Pharaoh and bare-headed rulers or figures. She shares this role principally with the goddesses in Group 2.

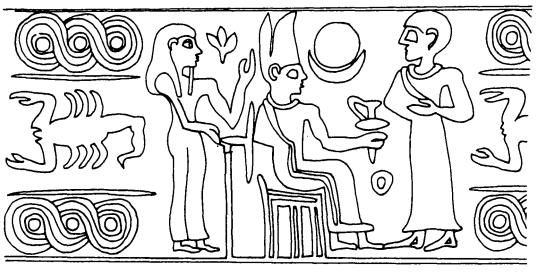
With deities (**108, 109**)
The link with the Suppliant goddess (**108**) relates to both these goddesses' connection with rulers, and is shared particularly by the goddess in the Hathor crown (Group 1: e.g. **6, 7, 82**). The association with the Nude goddess is shared by goddesses in Groups 1 (**90**), 2 (**95**), 3 (**101**) and 4 (**105**).

(7) The goddess in the wig (**110–25**)

With rulers (**110–20**)
The goddess plays a major role as a type of patroness with all the types of rulers encountered above, but principally with the ruler in the tall, oval head-dress (**111–14**). The enthroned ruler's crown on **110** is unusual. The peaked head-dress without the back panel is worn by Levantine rulers, but the back panel may be an attempt to Egyptianise the crown. The ruler, however, is clearly not the Pharaoh. On **119**, the two identical goddesses combine to protect the diminutive figure between them. This particular figure is Egyptianising but can be compared to other diminutive male types, identified as heirs or progeny (cf. **98**). 'Banquet scenes' in the terminal of a seal were a frequent motif in Syro-Levantine glyptic (see Chapter 4). On **118** the two goddesses merely substitute the usual bare-headed figures, which figure frequently in such scenes (cf. **44**), perhaps not randomly (see Chapter 3) as they are associated with two rulers.

With deities (**121, 122**)
The goddess appears in primary (**121**) and secondary (**122**) roles with the Suppliant, and the Winged and Nude goddesses. The Suppliant goddess on **121** has two faces, Janus-like, which emphasises her role as mediator between the ruler and the Egyptian goddess. On **122**, the Egyptianising goddess has a Levantine attribute, a fish, attached to her waist, as does the deity standing opposite her.

With imaginary figures (**123, 124**)
The goddesses bring an offering to a winged male (**123**), an imaginary figure found in scenes that may be related to 'nature mythology', and bless or protect the naked, lion-headed? demon on **124**. The latter hold lotuses, a



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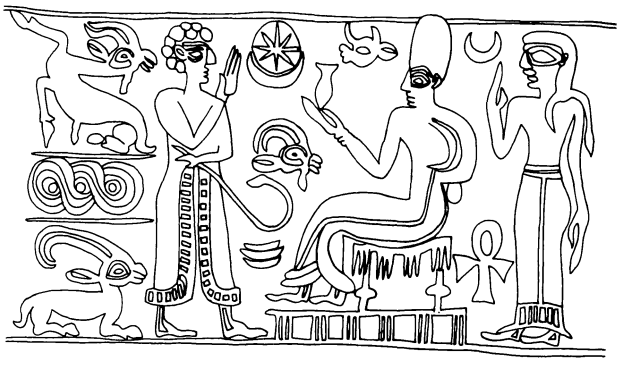

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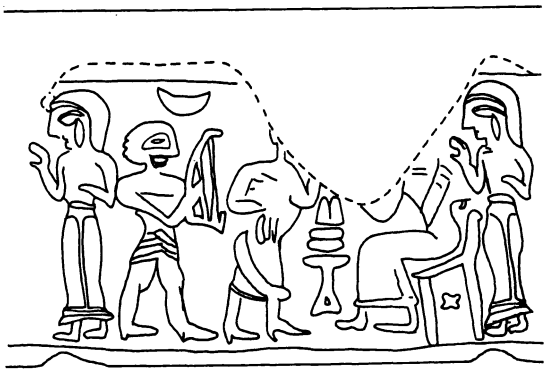

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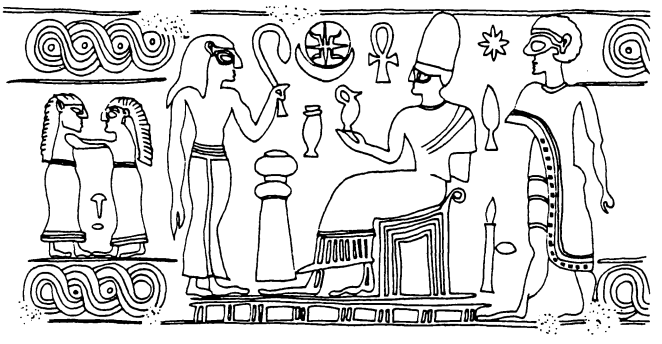

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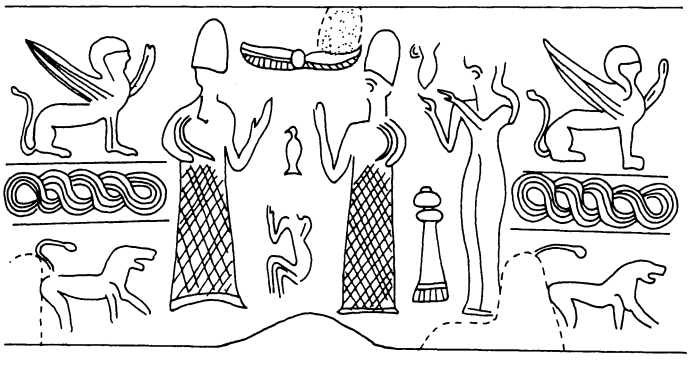

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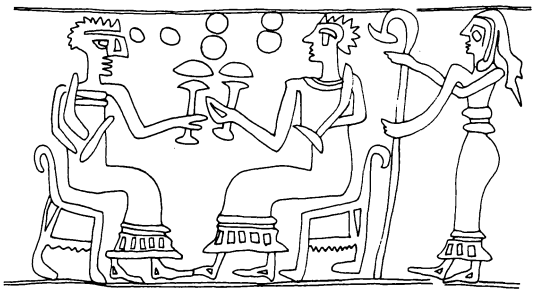

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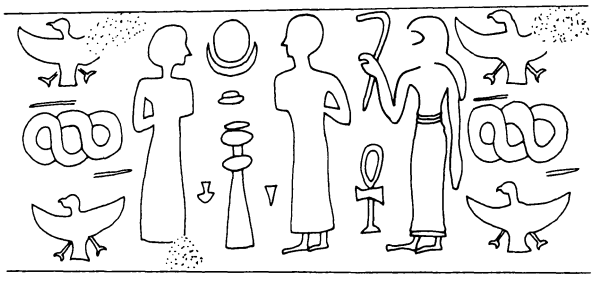

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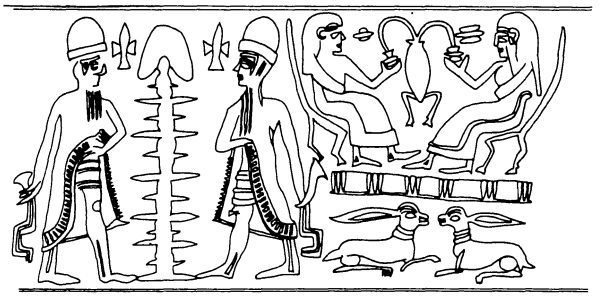

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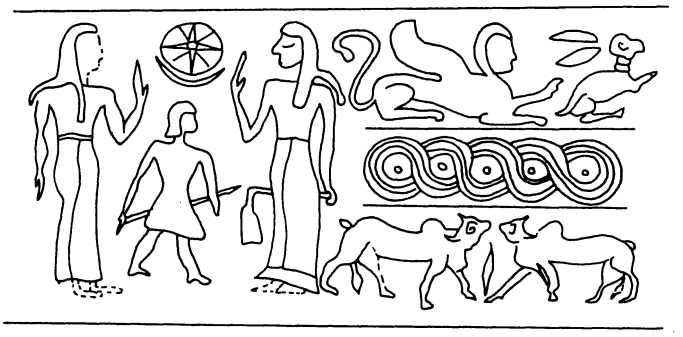

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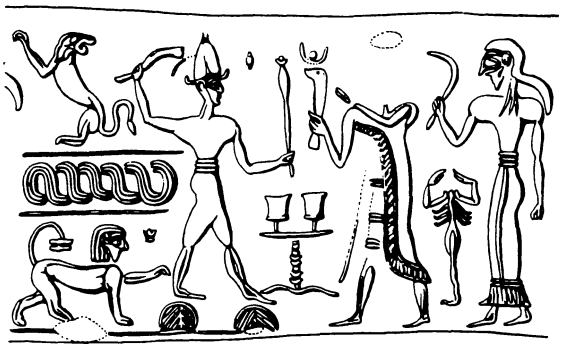

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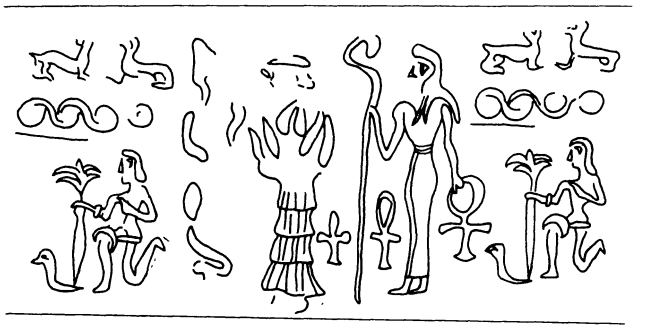

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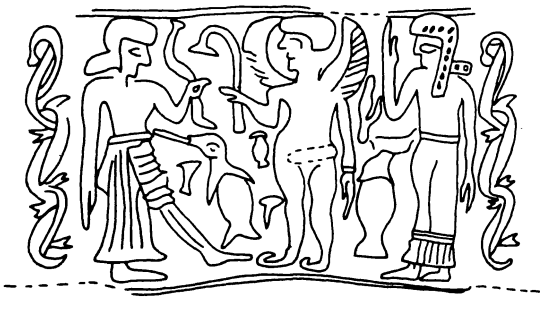

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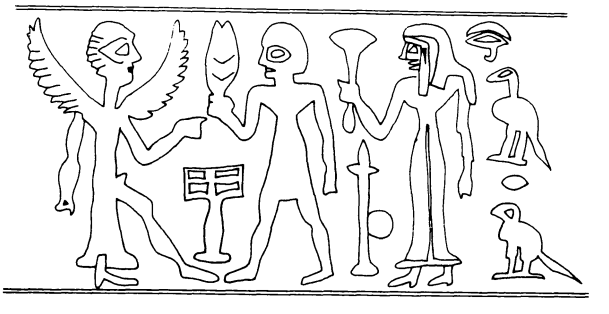

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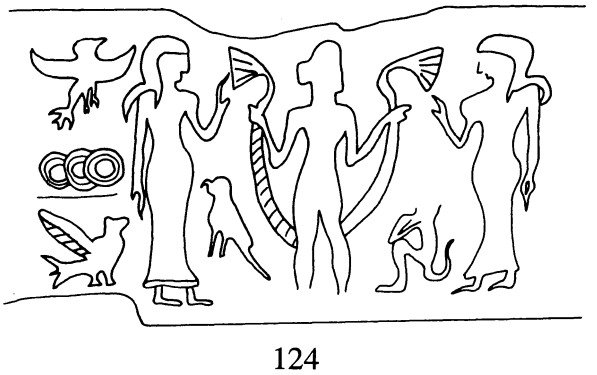

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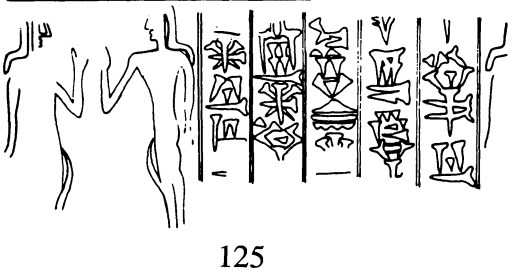


125

specifically Egyptian symbol connected with the goddesses. On **125** the figures, who appear to be of the same Egyptianising type as on **119**, interact with each other. This is not an Egyptian convention.

Summary: This goddess, together with the goddess in the Hathor crown, is the most frequently represented type. She shares a number of associations with the goddesses listed above (patroness, nature goddess), but she is integrated into Syro-Levantine contexts in the most varied way.

(8) Winged goddesses (**126, 127**)

A pair of unwinged goddesses (**126**) is included here because they are iconographically related to the winged goddessses and the goddess in the Hathor crown. This is significant for the Middle Kingdom iconography of Isis and Nephtys.

With rulers (**126**)
The single goddesses are shown in protective attitudes with the bare-headed ruler or figure and the ruler in the bonnet.

With a deity (**127**)
The goddess stands behind a Levantine deity, who may have been winged. The Egyptianising goddesses's attitude here is a conflation of the protective gesture and of a standard Egyptianising attitude when following a deity.

Summary: The goddesses show a mixed iconography, characteristic of Isis and Nephthys (**1i**) when shown as a pair (**126**), or of Isis when in the Hathor crown or cow's horns, with and without wings or with wings and arms. In Egyptianising scenes the context may be mortuary (**27, 28**) and/or protective (**29, 30**). In a Levantine context the goddesses appear to play a protective role.

General summary

The analysis of the unwinged goddesses in Groups 1–7 has shown that apart from head-dresses they share similar attributes, and appear in contexts which are also similar but have different nuances. The Winged goddesses (**8**) form a separate group, based on a different Egyptian motif, which is nevertheless partly iconographically related to the goddess in the Hathor crown. The lioness-goddess (**2**) is an exceptional case.

The following points summarise the associations of goddesses in Groups 1–7.

1 The most frequently represented goddesses are the ones in the Hathor crown (Group 1) and the wig (Group **2**); the rest are significantly less represented.

2 All goddesses occur with the Pharaoh or Levantine rulers more than in any other contexts, and are represented more with the latter than with the former. Representations with diminutive figures or a male child, taken in this context to symbolise progeny or the 'heir', are included.

3 The goddesses appear more often with Levantine or Mesopotamian deities than with Egyptian ones. Of the former, the Nude goddess is most often directly or indirectly associated, followed by the Suppliant and Levantine Winged goddesses. They also occur with miscellaneous nature deities such as the Water deity and the enthroned Mesopotamian deity with a snake.

4 Scenes with figures from 'nature mythology', such as the bull and lion demons, and the ibex, form a significant sub-group of 1–7.

The roles of the unwinged goddesses vary with their associations and to some degree with their head-dresses. The goddesses' association with rulers is analogous to their role in Egypt and can be interpreted as one of patronage. The goddesses appear with all ruler types, but 1 and 6 are more specifically linked to the major Syrian ruler with the tall, oval head-dress. In this context, the goddess in the Hathor crown is noticeably juxtaposed with the Suppliant goddess. The goddesses in the ram's horns head-dresses (Group 2) and the goddess in the uraeus (Group 6) are particularly associated with the bare-headed ruler or figure. Their status as patronesses is important but inferior to that of the Syrian goddess. The goddesses' status *vis-à-vis* the winged, nude and miscellaneous deities varies. With the Nude goddess it is one of parity or even superiority, but with the Winged goddess it is usually one of inferiority. It is one of parity and inferiority with miscellaneous deities, although examples of

these associations are too few for inferences to be made. With mythological nature figures, it is one of parity and superiority. Together with their role as patronesses, the goddesses have a general affinity with water, life and nature. This is specially evident with the goddesses in the ram's horns and floral head-dresses. The goddesses with the solar disc and double plumes crowns are outside these norms and only appear in Egyptianising scenes with the Pharaoh, as does the lionness-goddess. The role of the winged goddesses, again broadly analogous with Egypt, is interpreted as one of protection both with rulers and in mythological contexts.

The identity of the goddesses

Two questions are at issue regarding the goddesses in Groups 1–8. First, what identity can be given to them: Egyptian or Levantine with Egyptianising characteristics, or both? Second and consequent on this: are the unwinged goddesses 1–7 based on a single prototype, but represented in different aspects, or are different types represented in similar roles but with different nuances?

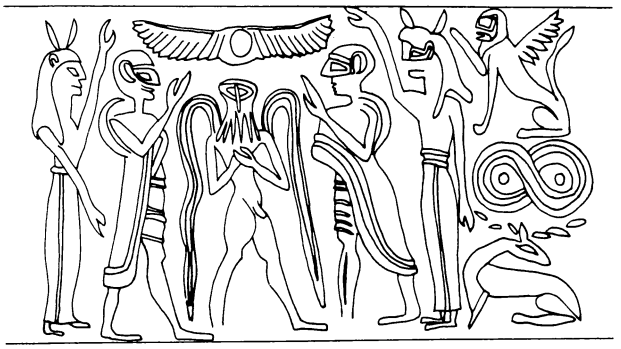
Parallels with named Egyptian prototypes can be safely drawn only in the case of the goddesses with the Hathor and solar disc crowns and the winged goddesses. The identification of the goddess in the Hathor crown is important for its possible implications on the iconography of Isis in the Middle Kingdom–IInd Intermediate period. I suggested above that Isis could have begun to wear the Hathor crown during this period. This may be attested by seals **30** and **126**, where the goddesses can be winged, in the manner of the pair Isis and Nephthys, but also wear the Hathor crown. These seals, dated to Period III, and seal **27**, dated to Period IIA, which show goddesses in an attitude characteristic of Isis and Nephthys in the New Kingdom, therefore could demonstrate that by the IInd Intermediate period the iconography of Isis was more developed than was previously thought: she could be winged and could also wear the Hathor crown. There is no corroborative evidence for this possibility and the alternative is that this combination of attributes may not be based on an Egyptian prototype, but is a Syro-Levantine creation. If not, the goddess in the Hathor crown, especially in her role as patroness on Syro-Levantine glyptic, could in theory be Isis as much as Hathor. Nevertheless, given the attested close links between Hathor and royalty, especially during the early Middle Kingdom, when Egyptian influence first had impact on Syrian glyptic, and the additional iconographical clues such as an affinity with water, trees and fertility, which are more in keeping with aspects of Hathor's nature at this period than Isis's, and given Hathor's links with foreign parts, Hathor is more likely to have been the prototype for this goddess. The paucity of representations of Isis and her fluid iconography, which was a feature of other goddesses during the Middle Kingdom (e.g. Satis and Anukis: Valbelle 1981: 95–8), also points to the dominance of Hathor during the Middle Kingdom. The goddess in the solar disc and uraeus head-dress on **18** and **19**, dated to Period III, could be plausibly identified as Isis, for this goddess is attested in such a crown in Egypt during the IInd Intermediate period (**4d**).

The prototype for the goddess in the plain wig, who is almost as frequently represented as Hathor and whose role resembles hers, is not clear. As a patroness she could be Hathor in another aspect, or Isis. As the contexts in which this goddess appears are more varied than those of the others, it is possible that on some seals she was not intended to be a goddess at all. On **118**, for example, the goddesses appear in a secondary role.

Several prototypes are possible for the goddesses in the vulture head-dress.The identity of the pair of winged goddesses in the Egyptianising scene **27** as Isis and Nephtys is implied by the iconography. The identity of the lioness-goddess (**2**) remains general.

The Egyptian identity, if there was one, of the goddesses in the ram's horns and floral head-dresses and in the *atef* crown cannot be established. Given the New Kingdom parallels for Hathor wearing the former two, she might be represented here. But the possibility of deliberate Egyptianisation of these goddesses must not be excluded. The ram's horns, floral and *atef* head-dresses are ill-defined on the seals: they could either be based on real prototypes or they could be the seal-cutters' creation, inspired by Egyptian prototypes. Ram's horns crowns or head-dresses, for example, although originally Egyptian, were frequently adopted in Syro-Levantine iconography. Yet the *atef* crown was worn by the Asiatic goddess Anat in New Kingdom representations (e.g. Montet 1933: Pl. 47, no. 5415) and the goddess herself was known in late Middle Kingdom sources (Leclant 1975: 253–4). Could the goddess on **103** be an early representation of Anat or is she just a miscellaneous Egyptianising goddess? Neither the iconographical nor the textual evidence are strong enough for definitive answers.

To what extent the Egyptian identities of these goddesses was relevant in Levantine iconography is another question. There is no reason why the Egyptian origin and thus identity of the goddesses based on Egyptian prototypes should not have been acknowledged in the first instance, but we do not know to what extent their identity was modified over time. The identity of the other goddesses with possibly spurious head-dresses can only be surmised from their iconographical context.



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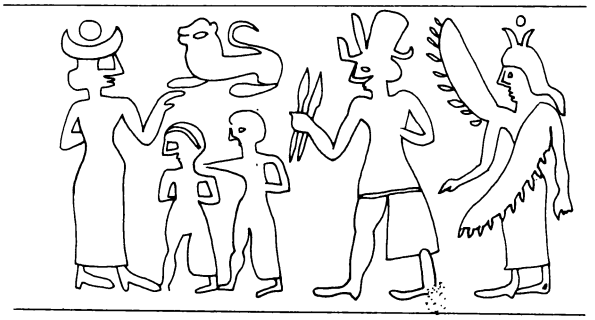

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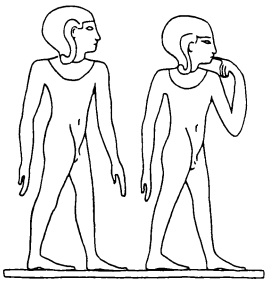

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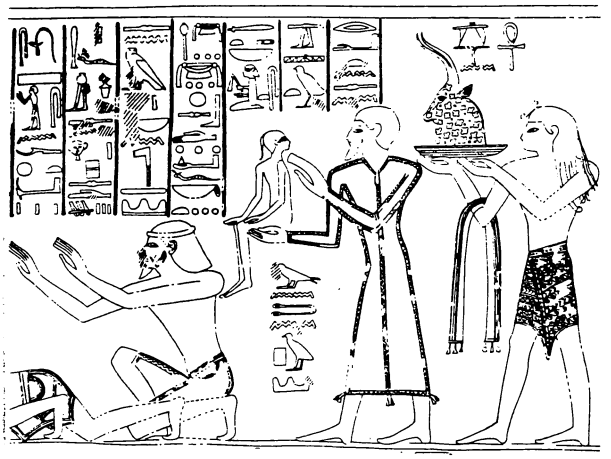

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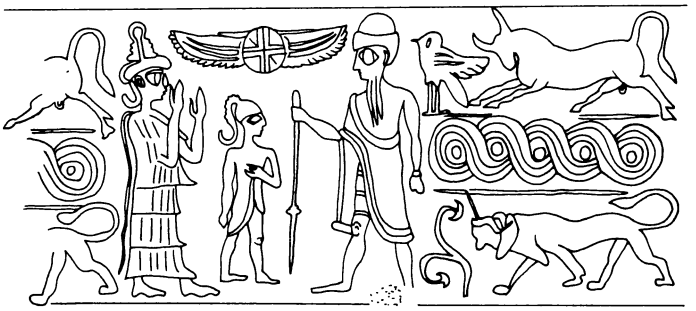

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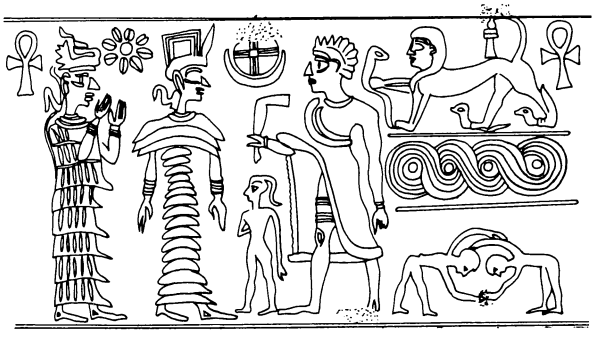

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131

Finally, a variety of Egyptian and Egyptianising goddess-types are shown in Groups **1–7**, but we do not know whether each was perceived as having distinct personas, or as being one of many aspects of one or two major deities. Significantly, the goddesses were both assimilated as patronesses and as nature goddesses because these different aspects of their nature were compatible with and could be easily incorporated into established Levantine religious or 'mythological' beliefs. Egyptian prototypes may also have served in the creation of new images, but whose establishment in the canon cannot be proved. Although comparatively scarce, the winged goddesses were assimilated in Levantine contexts both as a pair in the Egyptian manner and singly. They retained Egyptianising characteristics while being incorporated into the sphere of Levantine winged deities. The lioness-goddess, on present evidence, was not assimilated.

5.2.4 The child or youth (**128–31** and *passim*)

These diminutive figures have been identified as children or youths on the basis of their resemblance to Egyptian representations of both Egyptian and Levantine secular and royal youths (**1d**, **1p**, **1q**, **4h**, **4i**) The question at issue here is whether the depiction of these figures on glyptic is derived from or at all influenced by Egyptian prototypes.

On **119** a diminutive Pharaoh-like figure stands between two Egyptianising goddesses but the grouping is Syro-Levantine. The children or youths on **85**, **96**, **98**, **131** are all closely associated with male rulers and/or their patron goddesses.[1] The large female holding the *ankh* on **85** is not in divine costume and may be a royal or other high-ranking figure. The youth is generally placed between the rulers and the deity (**85**, **98**, **128**, **131**) and raises a hand towards one or the other. A winged sun disc or rosette may be above their heads (**129**, **131**).

There is nothing in the iconography of this subject to suggest anything other than secular children. The identity of the youth on **5** and the seal's context are exceptional and Egyptianising. In the Levantine context, the youths' consistent association with rulers and their patronesses, and frequently with symbols such as the winged sun disc, suggests that they symbolise the son of a ruler or an heir. No firm interpretation can be given on present evidence for the differences in the youths' hairstyles. A regional rather than an age differentiation is more likely, given that similar styles, such as the back lock or the short hair, are worn by youths and older figures (e.g. **106**) or the child and adult on **98**. It remains to be seen to what extent, if any, the iconography of the youths in the Levantine context may have been influenced by Egypt. There is no prior iconography of 'the child' or 'the youth' in similar contexts in Mesopotamian, Anatolian or Levantine glyptic from which this subject could have been derived. The similarity between representations of Egyptian and Levantine children has already been mentioned, and is demonstrated by comparing **5** with, for example, **85** or **96**. Thus the iconography of the youths cannot be specifically attributed to Egypt, as it also reflects Levantine fashion. It is unlikely that a child's hair fashion would have been adopted from Egypt. What may be Egyptian, therefore, is the subject matter: the idea of the depiction of a child with a parent may have been borrowed from Egypt and adapted to symbolise a ruler with an heir. We have no conclusive proof of this.

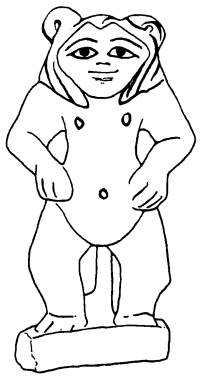
5.2.5 The lion–demon ('Bes') (**132**)

The hybrid figure on **132** closely corresponds to Egyptian representations of Middle Kingdom lion-demon (**1r**, **4j**), which evoke the demon 'Bes' from the New Kingdom. Few conclusions can reached on the basis of this representation, but the context in which the figure occurs is related to a known aspect of the Egyptian 'Bes'. On **132** [2] (Period IIB), the demon stands between the ruler and the Suppliant goddess and directly under a winged and crowned Horus falcon. Another solar and apotropaic symbol – the sphinx with the ram's horns and solar disc head-dress – is in the terminal. These combined solar symbols are perhaps suggestive of Bes's apotropaic nature in a solar context. He also stands in a place sometimes filled by a child or youth (cf. **129**, **131**) and his diminutive size and lack of mane evoke the image of youth.

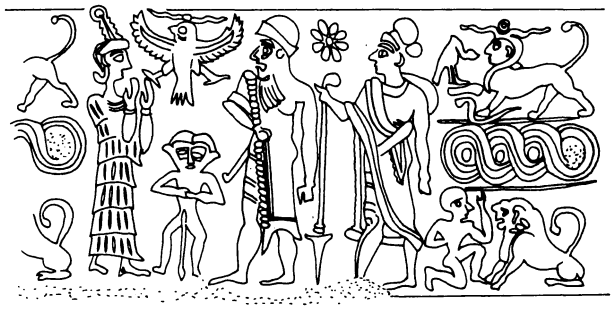
Summary: This early Middle Bronze Age representation of a hybrid with solar associations is related to Bes's Egyptian nature and is a complement (see also n. 2) to the early sources of this figure.

1 See also e.g. Cherkasky no. 57 (the youth holds a spear and emulates the Storm god).

2 An early Late Bronze Age seal from Ugarit (Schaeffer-Forrer 1983: 25–6: no. 7.181), shows a heavily maned 'Bes'-like demon standing above a lotus and placed immediately beneath a goddess and a female supplicant. Another female deity stands by the Weather god. This emphasis on femininity evokes Bes's nature as patron of fertility and women. The association with the lotus, a solar and regenerative symbol, is also characteristic of Bes in Egypt (e.g. Roeder 1956: Pl. 77e; Altenmüller 1965: 163; Baines and Malek 1980: 217).



1r



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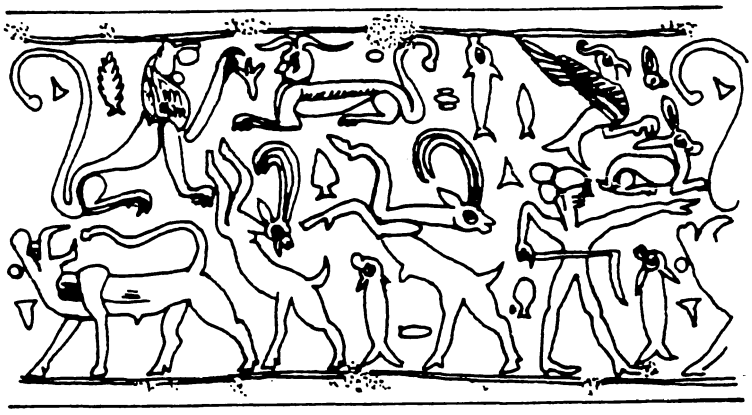
1s



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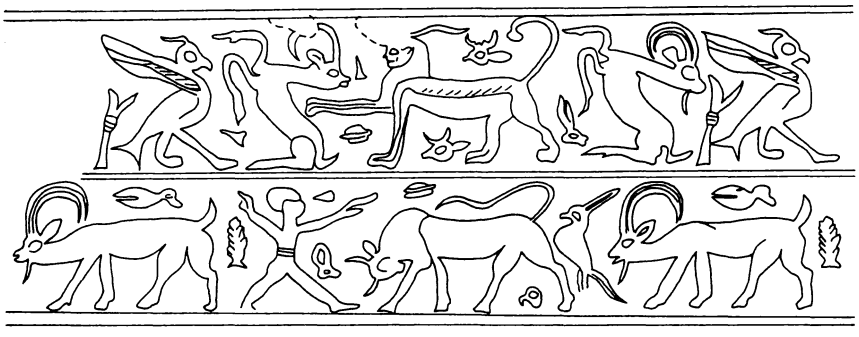

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5.2.6 Sphinxes (**133–61** and *passim*) (**1s–u,1w**)

The seals selected for comment below represent the principal attitudes and contexts of Egyptianising sphinxes on Syro-Levantine glyptic. Non-Egyptianising sphinxes, characterised by erect wings and a long hair curl, a cropped head or a sort of cap (e.g. **158** see also Beyer 1983: Fig. 8, seal of Kabbi-Addu, servant of Zimri-Lim) do occur in the Syro-Levantine repertoire but are in the minority.

Partly Egyptianising and non-Egyptianising sphinxes are known as early as the Period I repertoire of the Anatolian group of cylinder seals of Kültepe Level II (Özgüç 1965: 63: Pls. XI: 31a) and on Syro-Cappadocian glyptic (e.g. Delaporte 1923: Pl. 97, Fig. 12). These types can occur in Middle Bronze Age Syro-Levantine glyptic (cf. Period I–IIA, **139**) but the main impetus of Egyptianising sphinxes into the Syro-Levantine repertoire was unrelated to Cappadocian influence and appears to have been introduced during Period IIA. Single and paired, male and female sphinxes in this corpus appear in various Egyptian attitudes (couchant, seated, trampling), also characteristic of Egyptian griffins and lions, and in a variety of head-dresses: the Hathor, the ram's horns and disc and the *atef* crowns; the modius and the Egyptian wig. Sphinxes in Egyptian head-dresses are also represented in non-Egyptianising attitudes, such as seated with raised paws, rampant or crossed. Sphinxes based on Egyptian prototypes are represented unwinged or with folded wings, in contrast to the Levantine sphinx with erect wings, yet the latter is also shown in Egyptian head-dresses. Non Egyptianising sphinxes can occur with Egyptian symbols (e.g. **158**). The integration of Egyptian-sphinx attitudes or head-dresses and even perhaps symbolism was so pervasive in Syro-Levantine iconography of Periods IIA–III that to try and distinguish between, a winged Syrian sphinx with an Egyptian crown, for example, or an unwinged Egyptian sphinx in a Syrian attitude, seems spurious.

General contexts

Egyptianising sphinxes appear in the same contexts as non-Egyptianising sphinxes: as an integral part of a scene (e.g. in nature scenes: **133**, **134**; with animals and symbols: **143**; as a symbol: **136**) or as a subidiary (e.g. in the terminal: **138**, **141**). There appears to be no set correlation between the iconography of sphinxes and their context, but the nuance of a scene (e.g. nature, protection) can be emphasised by the iconography. The Egyptian or Egyptianising dimension in sphinxes' iconography was probably also used by seal-cutters to introduce more variety and flexibility.

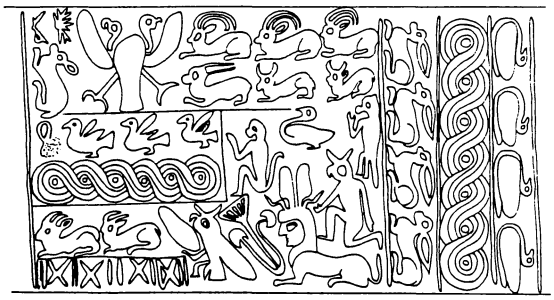
Two aspects of sphinx iconography – the sphinx with snakes and with symbols – will be briefly explored before reviewing the overall context and role of Egyptian and Egyptianising sphinxes. Sphinxes occur with two types of symbols or subjects: Egyptian and Syro-Levantine. Other more straightforward aspects of the sphinx, such as animal agressor or figure in the field, are mentioned in the summary.

The sphinx with Egyptian and Egyptianising subjects

With snakes (**51**, **54**, **80**, **88**, **96**, **130**, **132**, **142–7**, **242**)

The association of a sphinx with snakes is both an Egyptian, a Syro-Cappadocian (e.g. Frankfort 1939: Pl. XLIa) an Anatolian and a Syrian theme (e.g. **147**). It is also found in XIIIth Dynasty–IInd Intermediate period scarabs from Palestine (e.g. **1v**). The Syro-Cappadocian and Egyptian motifs are iconographically unrelated.

Several subjects related to solar and apotropaic mythology from the New Kingdom (**1t**) to the Late Period (**1u**) in Egypt evoke the motif of the sphinx trampling on a snake or snakes, as on **51**, **54**, **88**, **142**, **143** and **145**). The snake is sometimes clearly recogniseable as a cobra, whether underfoot or confronting (e.g. **142**, **144**), by its flared head. Otherwise it is indeterminate. On **142** and possibly **143**, the sphinx treads on two different types of snakes. It is possible that the motif of the sphinx and snakes, best exemplified on **142**, is derived from an Egyptian prototype, even though parallels for it come from a variety of sources and periods which post-date the Middle Kingdom. The motif on **142** in particular, appears integral and is reminiscent of minor arts motifs showing trampling antithetical sphinxes and griffins (**2a**) rather than as an association of separate symbols, as, for example, the sphinx and the *ankh* or the sphinx and the tree. On **142** one of the snakes emerges directly from the sphinx's paw. The motif is also iconographically coherent in Egyptian terms, implying by the solar ram's horns and disc crown and the combination of snakes and the snake paws, a conflation of solar and apotropaic concepts. A general resemblance with the Late Period Tutu (**1u**) is striking but cannot be used to support the Egyptian origin of the motif on **142**. Alternatively, the motif on **142** could be a deliberate Egyptianising pastiche. The *djed*s immediately under the sphinxes' tails (**130**, **142**), which are not an Egyptian feature of shpinxes, but are found attached to claws in the minor arts (e.g. Aldred 1978: Fig. 30) may support this theory. However such



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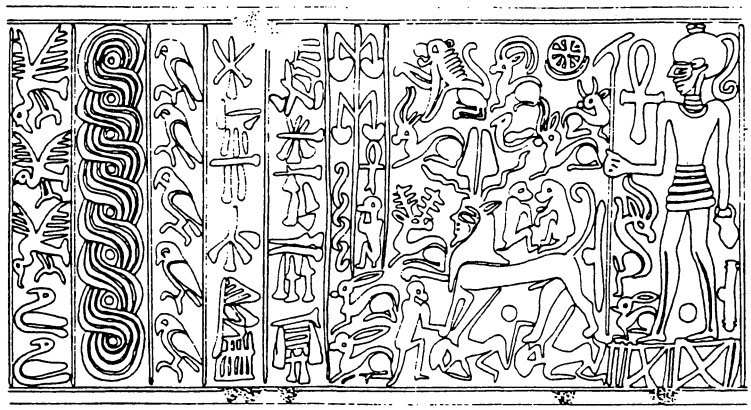

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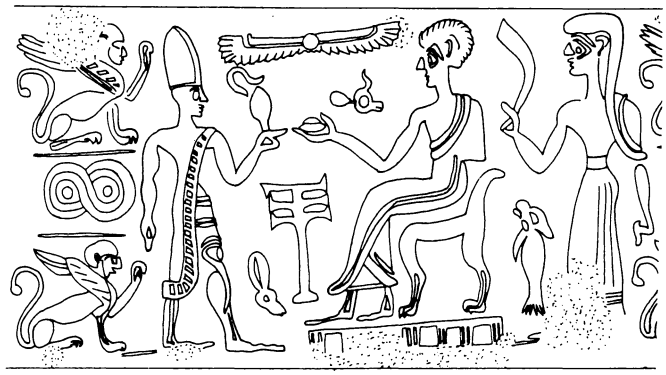

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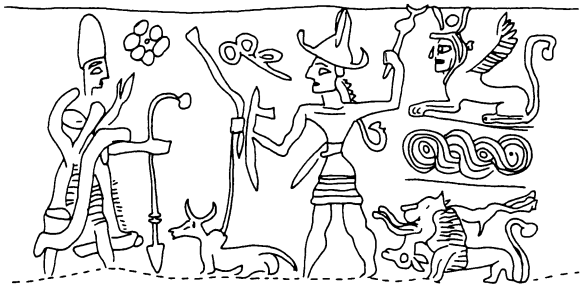

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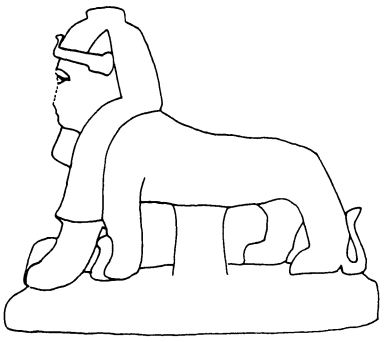

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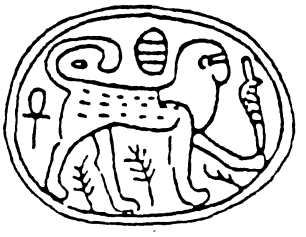

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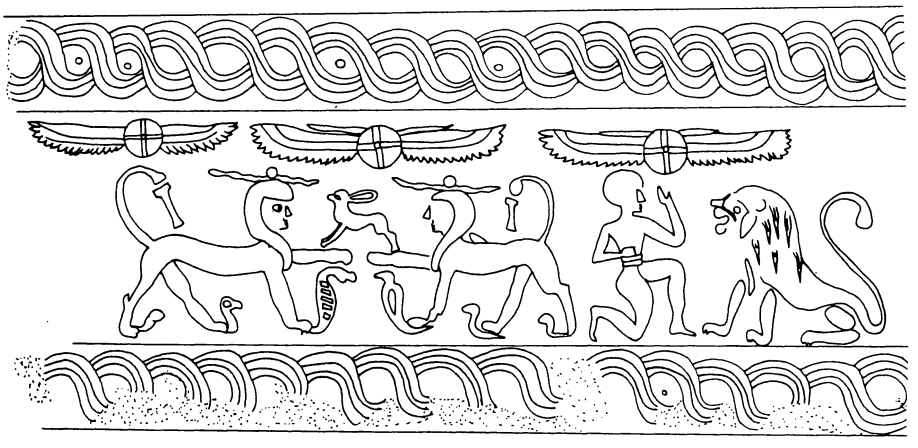

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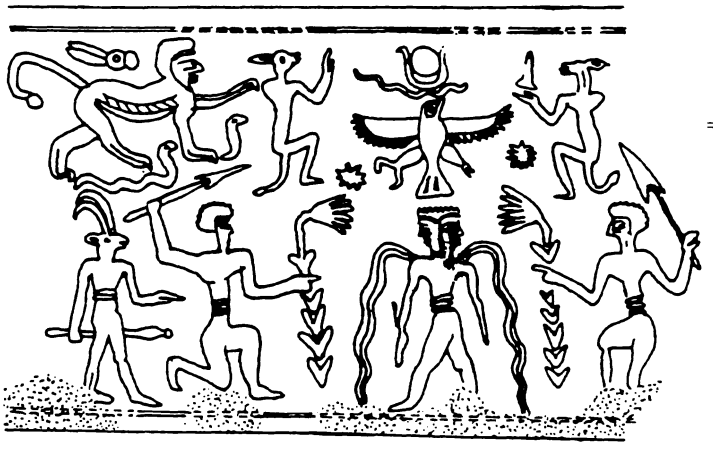

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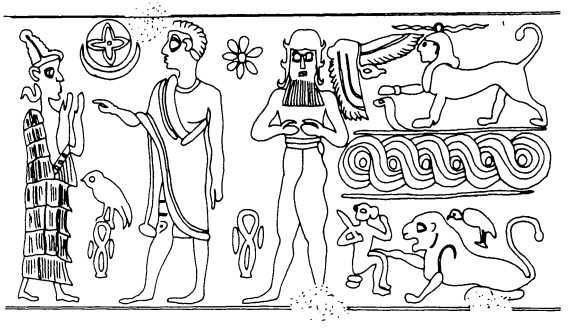

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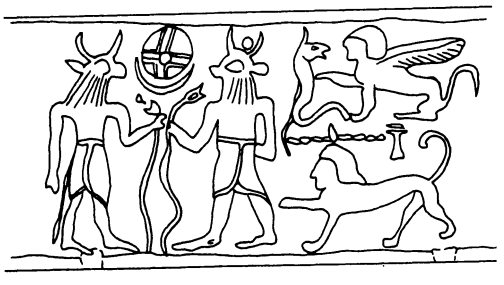

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an otherwise accurate pastiche would go against the trend of Syro-Levantine glyptic iconography, which favours the integration of Egyptian and Egyptianising figures rather than the Egyptianisation of Syro-Levantine figures. The quality of **142** also contrasts strongly with **110** and **240**, two seals that are deliberately Egyptianising. There is nothing in Syrian or Anatolian iconography to give rise to this motif or that otherwise resembles it. Approximately contemporary sphinxes and snakes on Anatolian stamp style glyptic from Açemhüyük are very different: the snakes emerge from the body and head of the sphinx or become its tail (Özgüç 1980: Fig. III-45, 47). XIIIth Dynasty–IInd Intermediate period scarabs from Palestine showing sphinxes with snake tails or associated with snakes (Tufnell 1984: Pl. XLI: nos. 2659, 2665, 2673; **1v**)[3] are closer to these Egyptianising Syrian examples and probably related. Again, I take this motif to be originally Egyptian, with local variations and simplifications.

In Levantine contexts the sphinx trampling on snakes is represented first with animals (**143**) and second in the terminal (e.g. **132**), associated with the Pharaoh (**51, 54**), Levantine rulers (**88, 130, 132**) or deities and rulers (**96**), but his solar and apotropaic nature can be brought out. For example, on **132**, the sphinx is associated with the solar Horus falcon and the winged sun disc (cf. 'Bes') and on **142** the sphinxes' solar aspect is emphasised by the winged sun disc in the upper field above them. Vultures, depicted with the sphinxes on **132** and **145**, are associated with the apotropaic figure of Tutu as well as featuring on the Middle Kingdom magical wands mentioned above (see under Lion-demon Bes in Appendix A). The hare, placed above the sphinxes' paws on **142** in lieu of an Egyptian motif, is a field animal commonly found with sphinxes in other aspects (e.g. **57, 143, 154**).

With the Hathor head (**148–51**)

The motif of the sphinxes and Hathor appears in two clear contexts that relate to Hathor's life-giving and celestial nature and may have been inspired by an Egyptian minor arts motif [4] (cf. also **1w**). On **148** and **149**, and indirectly on **151**, the motif appears with water subjects: streams of water and mermen on **148**; water heroes on **149** and a water and plant deity on **151**. Hathor's association with water is otherwise graphically shown in an Egyptianising context on **22**, where the Hathor head dispenses streams of *ankh*s over the Pharaoh, and in a Levantine context on **243**, for example, where the water hero seems to wear a Hathor-like crown. The placing of the Hathor head in the upper field on **148, 149** and **151** evokes her celestial nature. On **150**, a winged sun disc is placed directly above the Hathor head. This motif appears to be related to **202** where a tree, topped by a winged rosette, grows out of a winged Hathor head. Here the tree is missing.

The significance of the triangular scroll motif over which the sphinxes ascend on **151** (cf. the griffins on **163**) is obscure. Its shape is mountain-like and even though it is not naturalistic in this context it may symbolise a mythological, cosmic mountain.[5]

With a miscellaneous emblem (**152**)

The sphinxes sit either side of an emblem which consists of a pole surmounted by an irregular quadrilateral. It is generally similar to Egyptian cult symbols such as the Abydene cult symbol, the *sḫm* pillar or the Hathor pillar (David 1981: 138, W.Wall LR 12 (Abydene); 137 W.Wall LR 10 (*sḫm*); Gardiner 1978, Sign List: F28/F8 (Hathor pillar)). On **152** the details of the symbol are not clear. The top part of the symbol appears to be abraded.

With a cartouche (**51, 153**)

The cartouche associated with the trampling sphinxes on **153** is particularly reminiscent of a Middle Kingdom pectoral where griffins simultaneously dominate enemies and support a cartouche with their extended forelegs (**2a**). Here the motif is only approximately rendered: on **51** it is only associated with one sphinx and on **153** the cartouche is askew and is not directly supported by the sphinxes.

With the ankh (**157, 158**)

This is a straightforward association. The *ankh* is ubiquitous with both Egyptianising and non-Egyptianising subjects on Levantine glyptic, as well as with sphinxes on New Kingdom scarabs (e.g. Hornung and Staehelin

3 Griffins and lions on these scarabs are similarly associated with snakes: Tufnell 1984: e.g. nos. 2652, 2655, 2640, 2643.

4 In the Old Kingdom, antithetical felines and Seth are represented couchant or seated on either side of a Bat symbol: e.g. Kaplony 1981: Pl. 170: 121, Pl. 153: 11 (cylinder seal impressions). A griffin and Seth are represented seated on either side of a Bat symbol on a Middle Kingdom pectoral (Feucht-Putz 1967: 10, 41–4: Pl. V: Fig. 50). Given the merging of Bat and Hathor, these motifs are probably related. For lions flanking the Hathor/Bat head on IInd Intermediate period and New Kingdom scarabs, see Matouk 1977: e.g. nos. 481, 482.

5 On Parker 1949: no. 175, similar sphinxes are antithetically rampant on a pyramidal scroll motif with a snake inside it, another characteristic of mythological mountains in the Levant (Williams-Forte 1983: 28). The pyramidal motif itself is probably derived from an Anatolian or early Hittite device also common on stamp seals (Teissier 1984: 252: no. 502). For naturalistic mountains on which the Weather god stands, compare e.g. CANES: no. 967e and Marcopoli: no. 476.

1976: no. 323 B). The association here with the *ankh* complements the sphinxes' links with other symbols of life and fertility such as the Hathor head and the tree. This is demonstrated by the sphinx on the right on **157**, who holds a plant shoot in his raised paw.

Sphinxes with celestial symbols (Syro-Levantine, Egyptian) (**154–6** and *passim*)
The sphinxes are represented in various attitudes with stars (**155**), a rosette (**156**), and a sun disc and crescent (**154**). Their celestial associations are not only evoked by the symbols between them, but by their solar crowns (**156**, cf. also **142** and **145**). The solar or celestial aspect of this motif is particularly emphasised on **154**, which evokes Egyptian iconography. The row of naked anthropomorphic figures with raised arms below the sphinxes and the sun disc between them are reminiscent of Egyptian representations of solar apes worshipping emblems of the sun (cf. **143**) (**2d**), while the motif of the sun disc between the sphinxes evokes the Egyptian antithetical lions (Aker) or sphinxes supporting the sun disc or the sign of the horizon on their backs in funerary contexts (de Wit 1951: 125–36; Rössler-Köhler 1980: 1142–3; Lanzone 1882: Pls. 2, 4) (**1x**). It may be significant that the sphinxes on this particular seal are unwinged, in the Egyptian manner. The motif as it appears on **154** may thus be a conflation of Egyptian and Syro-Levantine imagery.

Sphinxes with Syro-Levantine subjects

With the Nude goddess (**159**)
On **159**, the sphinxes flank the Nude goddess. This association with a Levantine symbol of fertility is a Syrian offshoot of the sphinx's other links with life and fertility symbols (Hathor, tree, *ankh*); it also demonstrates a further link between Hathor and the Nude goddess.

With the tree (**160**, **161**)
Because of its importance in Syrian art and its occurrence in the minor arts of New Kingdom Egypt, the association of the sphinx and the tree deserves discussion. The association of the sphinx with the (broadleaf) tree in Western Asia can be traced back to a twentieth century BC Anatolian seal impression from Kültepe (Özgüç 1965: 71: XXIV). It is also found as part of an elaborate painted scene from the Court of the Palms at Mari (Barrelet 1950: 9–35) dated to the eighteenth century BC. Here, a bull, a griffin and a sphinx are superimposed beside an imaginary Egyptianising tree (see also **193**, griffins with a tree). This association thus appears to be Syro-Anatolian and Syro-Levantine, although it would not be incompatible with non-royal Egyptian beliefs (see Appendix A). A direct association between sphinxes and trees in Egypt is first attested in the minor arts of the New Kingdom (**1y**) in motifs that show mixed Levantine and Egyptian iconography. This association can be attributed to Levantine influence and is to be differentiated from the Egyptian association of sphinxes with lotus offerings [6] (see Appendix A). The mixed trees in the Egyptian examples have broad parallels with transitional Middle Bronze to Late Bronze Levantine types (Hammade 1987: no. 207: Middle-Late Bronze Age; Moore: no. 168; Brett: no. 98), as well as in stylised floral representations from New Kingdom Egypt (N. de G. Davies 1930: Pl. XIII; 1945: Pl. XVIII), but not in traditional Middle Bronze Age glyptic iconography.[7]

In the context of the sphinx with vegetation, to date I know of no sphinxes with floral head-dresses from Syro-Levantine cylinder seals.[8]

On **160** the sphinxes flank a tree in an attitude which anticipates New Kingdom representations (**1y**). On **161**, the sphinxes are represented with a diminutive tree on their hind-quarters, a motif directly derived from the Cappadocian repertoire (e.g. CANES nos. 887, 890). The tree is a palm. In glyptic iconography, the sphinxes' association with the tree complements their link with the *ankh* (see **157**) and the Hathor head.

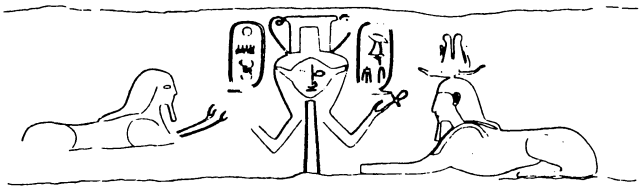
Ram-headed sphinx (?) (**162**)

The head of the sphinx on this seal is distinctly animal but the ram identification (cf. **1z**) is only tentative. The sphinx's context, in the terminal, behind the Suppliant goddess, a patroness of rulers, rather than behind an actual ruler is unusual (but see **126** and the griffin on **108**). Because there is only one example of this type of

6 The sphinx is directly associated with flower offerings, as when two sphinxes face each other over a lotus, or a sphinx holds a lotus in his paws (Hassan 1949: 136–7: Fig. 32; 1953: Pl. LXVIII). See also Hornung and Staehelin 1976: 127: e.g. no. 644.

7 Composite trees do occur at this period, but they are not of these types (see e.g. Marcopoli 501; Collon 1975: nos. 83, 85).

8 XIIIth Dynasty–IInd Intermediate period scarabs from Palestine show sphinxes and lions associated with plants: Tufnell 1984 e.g. nos. 2613–46, 2671–3.



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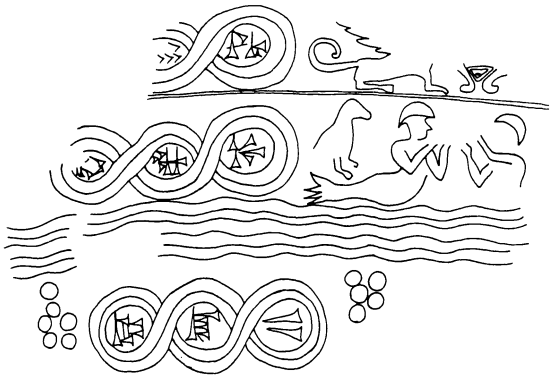

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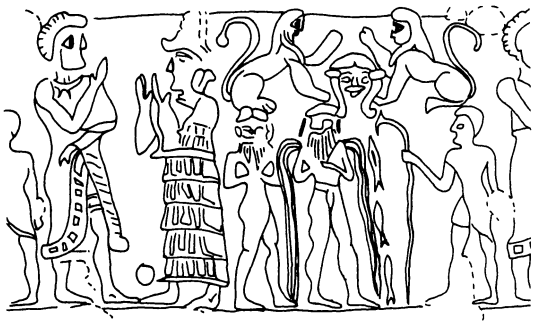

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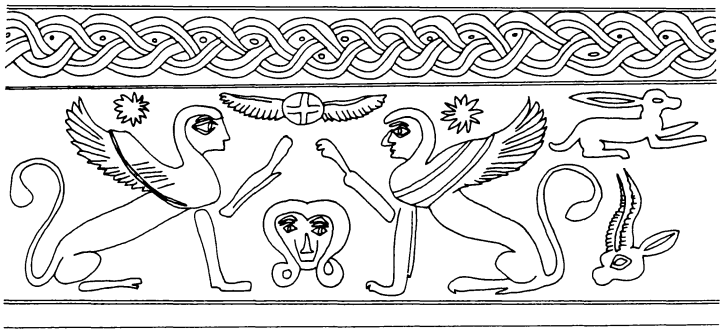

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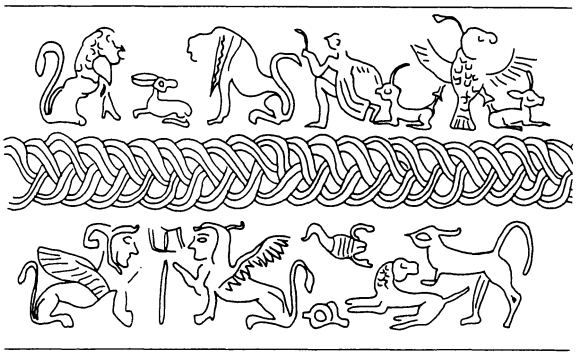

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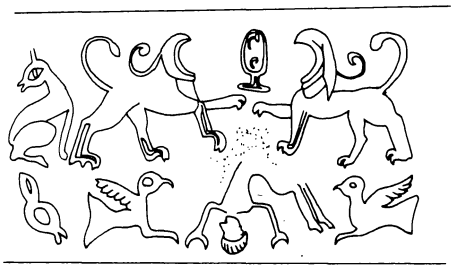

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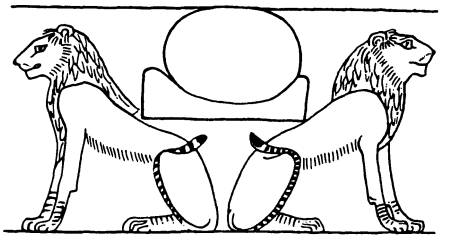
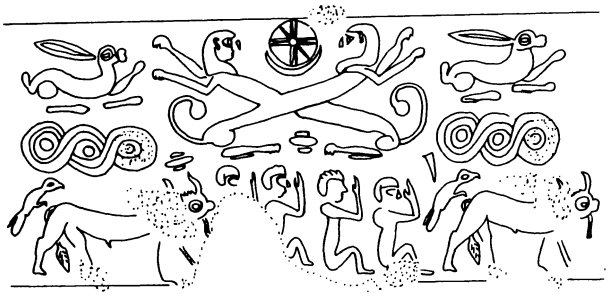


1x



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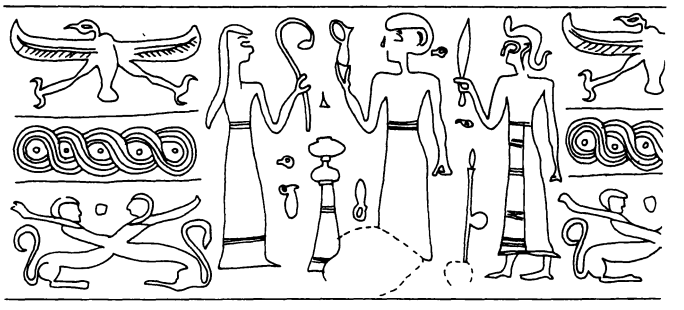

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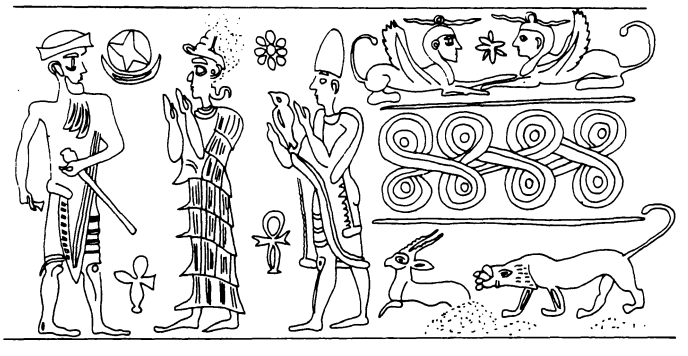

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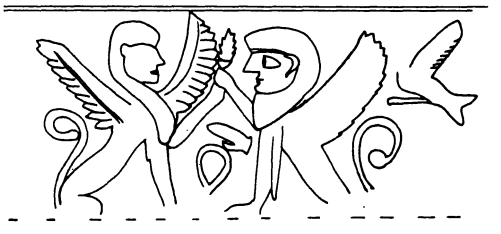

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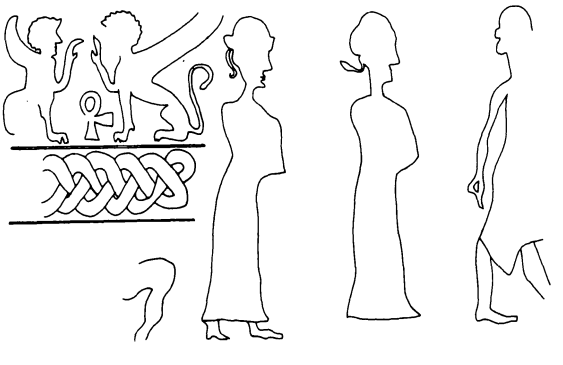

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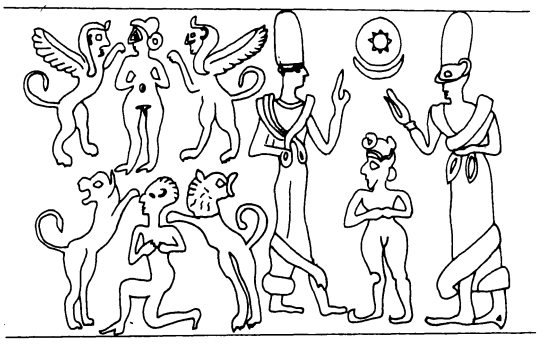

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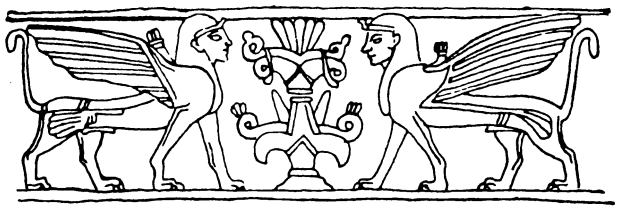

1y

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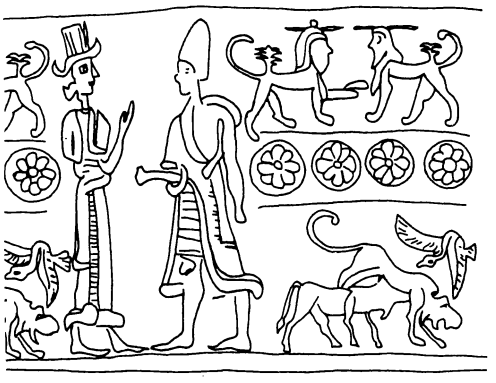

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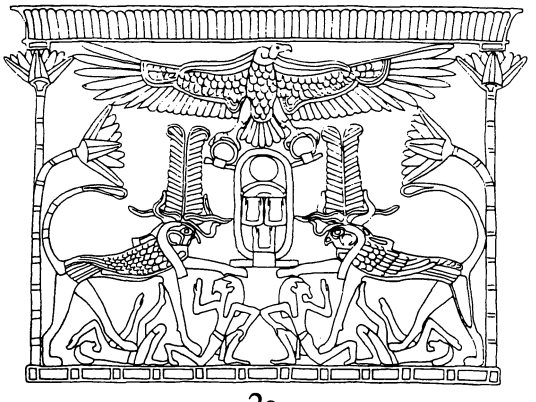

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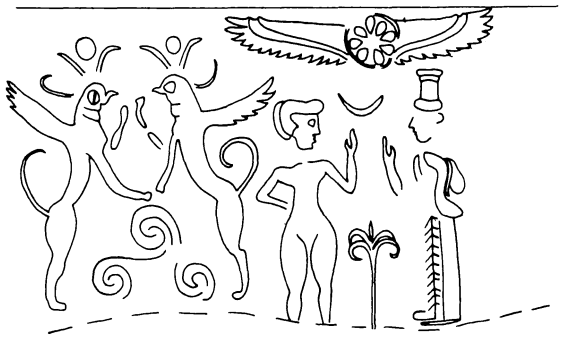

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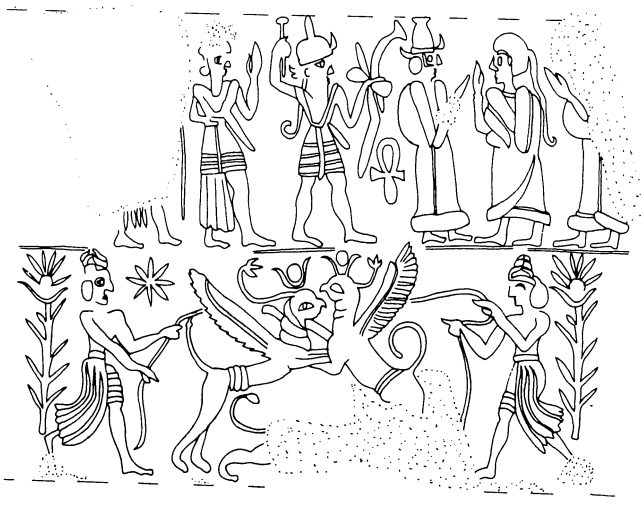

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sphinx in the corpus, it is difficult to assess to what extent, if at all, its original nature may have been taken into account on this seal.

Summary

Four principal aspects of the sphinx's nature can be distinguished by the contexts in which it appears and by its iconography.

Guardian

The sphinx's most common position is in a terminal behind a ruler. Here his paw is sometimes raised horizontally but more frequently vertically. This stance is repeated when the sphinx is represented in a pair with symbols (e.g. *ankh*, tree), or with animals. The sphinx is always in close proximity to or actually touching his subject. This raised paw gesture is one of protection and power rather than of prayer or salutation. The former usually involves two raised arms and the latter would be meaningless because of the sphinx's position behind figures. The horizontally extended paw, derived from the trampling stance, emphasises power. This interpretation is compatible with the sphinx's guardian nature in Egypt.

Agressor

The motif of the sphinx trampling on victims, an aspect of his royal nature in Egypt, often occurs as part of a grouping on Syro-Levantine cylinder seals and was not freely adapted. Another integral symbol, which partly reflects the sphinx's aggressive apotropaic nature, is the motif of the sphinx trampling on snakes. The sphinx's lion nature is also expressed by his agressive manner with other animals (e.g. **137**).

Fertility

In his protective guise, the sphinx is unequivocally associated with symbols of life and renewal. These are both Egyptian – the Hathor crown, the Hathor head, the *ankh* – and Levantine – the palm, the water hero, the Nude goddess, the rosette.

Solar and celestial

The sphinx is associated with solar and celestial iconography in ordinary, snake-treading and crossed forms. The symbols in question may again be Egyptian – the solar ram's horns and disc crown, the winged sun disc, solar apes – or Levantine – the star disc and crescent, the star, the rosette, a symbolic mountain. This solar and celestial aspect of the sphinx is not found in the Middle Kingdom iconographic record from Egypt but was nevertheless Egyptian (see Appendix A).

Thus Levantine iconography shows the incorporation of major aspects of the sphinx's Egyptian nature, even esoteric ones, such as his snake aspect, as well as emphasising the sphinx's Levantine image by the use of wings and various symbols. The iconography of the sphinx, with all its associated symbolism, reflects better than any other subject in this corpus the iconographical reciprocity between Egypt and the Levant: Egyptian influence in Syria and the Levant during the Middle Bronze Age and Middle Kingdoms and the Levantine origin of motifs found in New Kingdom Egypt (e.g. the winged sphinx and the tree).

5.2.7 The griffin (**163–6** and *passim*)

The griffin, a winged creature with a lion's body and a falcon's head, is closely related iconographically to the sphinx in Middle Bronze Age Levant. This connection is first attested on Syro-Cappadocian glyptic (e.g. Buchanan 1966: no. 489) and particularly well illustrated by the painting in the Court of the Palms at Mari (Barrelet 1950). On glyptic, the two are linked repeatedly. They share attitudes (couchant, seated, one paw stretched out or raised, rampant, attacking animals) and contexts (with rulers, beside a tree) (**35**), rampant over a mythical mountain (**163**), and, to a lesser extent , attributes (the Hathor crown).

The Middle Bronze Age Anatolian and Levantine griffins share a number of characteristics with the Egyptian griffin: 1) As beasts of the field, agressors and protectors (Barta 1973–4); 2) The griffin trampling on enemies, a motif that on present evidence was not part of the Levantine Middle Bronze Age glyptic repertoire, appears in the Anatolian-style impressions from Cappadocia (Kültepe Level II). His stance, on all fours holding an enemy in his mouth (Özgüç 1965: 74: Pl. XXXV), is not characteristic of Egyptian griffins, although it recalls representations of the lion with its victims on Middle Kingdom apotropaic wands (Altenmüller 1965: Fig. 13); 3) Solar associations. This aspect of the griffin is very developed in Syrian glyptic iconography. In Egypt it is first attested in the Middle Kingdom, but it was developed during the New Kingdom, when the griffin is frequently

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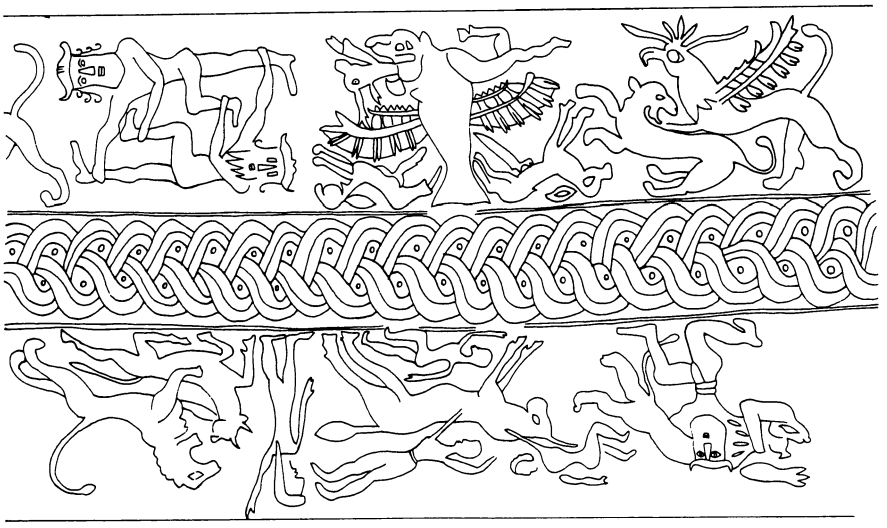
2b



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portrayed with a solar disc on his head.[9] In the Late Period, he can appear sitting on a lotus (see 4) within a sun disc (Champollion 1845: Pl. CXXIV); 4) Plant associations. In Levantine iconography the griffin's associations with the tree (**193**) usually include a direct link with solar mythology, but this is not infallible. The Mari painting and some glyptic examples (**35**) show the griffin with plant associations only (Barrelet 1950: Fig. 1; Kühne 1980: no. 30; Marcopoli: no. 501). In Egypt the traditional griffin's links with vegetation are less direct. The female griffin at Beni Hasan has a tail ending in a lotus flower (Newberry 1893: Pl. XVI); the Middle Kingdom griffin pectoral of Sesostris II has two lotus flowers flanking the scene (**2a**), although this may be a decorative device. A solar and floral association has been mentioned above.

The griffin with Egyptian attributes in Levantine contexts

On **163**, the griffins with their Hathor crowns appear as a subsidiary motif in a scene mainly featuring feminine figures and symbols: the Nude goddess, the Syrian goddess, the rosette within the winged disc. This evokes the sphinx's associations with the Nude goddess (**159**) and other feminine symbols, such as the Hathor head. Again, on **165** the griffin's *atef* crown is similar to the one worn by the smiting sphinx. On **166**, included here because of its resemblancre to an Asian griffin depicted on a New Kingdom box (**2b**), the griffin appears as an agressor and a beast of the field.

Summary

This is not the place for a discussion of the role of the griffin in Syrian iconography. What is significant here are the iconographic links between griffins in Middle Bronze Age Levant and New Kingdom Egypt, and common mythological aspects, notably their solar natures and their close association with the sphinx.

5.2.8 The hawk (**167–73** and *passim*)

With exceptions, the species and iconography of the hawk motif correspond to representations of the Horus hawk in Egypt (**2c–e**, **4k**, **4l**). The representation of the bird in Egypt was conventionalised and was probably influenced by several species of falcons with similar markings (Houlihan 1986: 46–9, cf. nos. 24, 45 and 25). It does not represent one species.

Different aspects of the Egyptian and Egyptianising hawk were incorporated into the Syro-Levantine glyptic repertoire, with varied connotations. As with the sphinx, the hawk's differing iconography lent nuances to a scene. The principal aspects in which the hawk with folded and with spread wings appears are as a royal bird and symbol; as a solar bird and symbol, the latter two analogous to Egypt (see Appendix A); as a winged figure in the terminal (one of the standard places for winged creatures in Syrian glyptic, (see Chapter 4); as a decorative motif; and as field animal. Two different aspects of the hawk can appear on the same seal (e.g. **167**) or share different connotations (e.g. **251**). Exceptionally, the hawk is associated with Egyptian plants in scenes that are Egyptianising (see **13**, **31**): these have already been mentioned. The contexts in which hawks, and the vulture occur are described in some detail because this helps to reveal the original Egyptian source of the motif and the manner in which it was adapted in Syro-Levantine iconography.

Royal

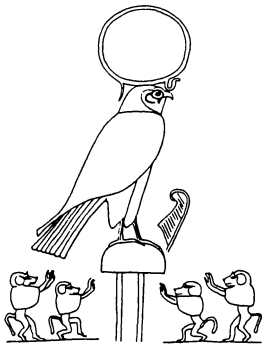
The hawk with folded wings in the field

The hawk in the double crown (**77**, **85**, **167**) in the central or upper field is associated with rulers or their patron deities in both Egyptianising (**77**) and Levantine contexts (**85**, **167**). In Egypt Horus is often shown in this attitude, wearing the double crown as he stands on a *serekh* (**2e**, **4l**). This may have been the original motif on **167**. On **77** the two hawks, which face the same way as Khnum and Montu respectively, face each other. This balanced composition recalls motifs in Egyptian minor arts (**2e**), although here the hawks face only one another, without other royal or solar symbols, in a un-Egyptian manner. On **85** the hawk stands on an *ankh*.

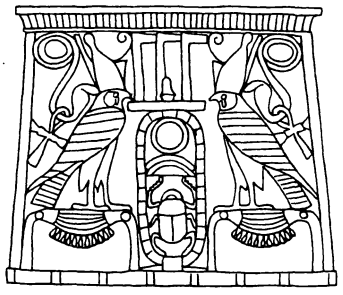
A royal bird is evoked more frequently by a crownless hawk or an indeterminate bird type (e.g. **57**, **64**, **84**, **97**, **109**, **124**, **145**, **199**), again in proximity to rulers and/or their patron goddesses. On **199**, a second hawk or kestrel stands on a *shen*-like sign at the base of the tree. On **218** the hawk stands on a cartouche.

9 Barta 1973–4: nos. 19, 22, 33; solar contexts: Middle Kingdom: Altenmüller 1965: 59–160; New Kingdom: Barta 1973–4: nos. 18–21, 27, 30, 31, 33.

2c



2d



2e

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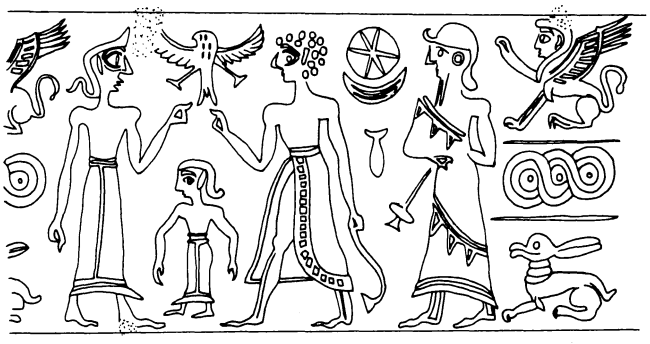

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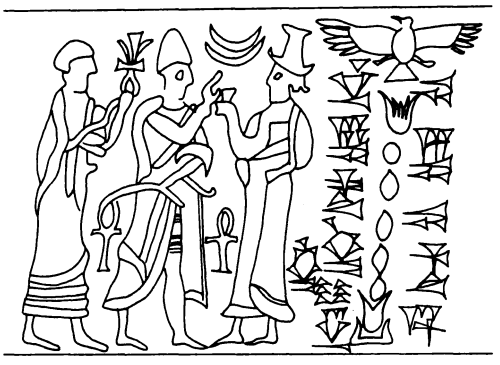

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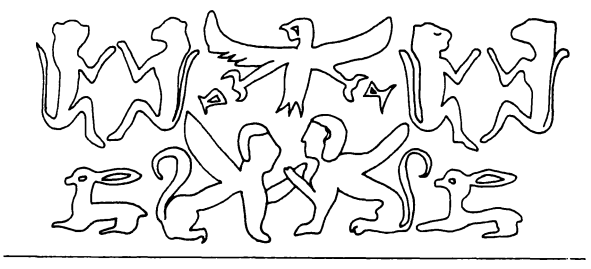

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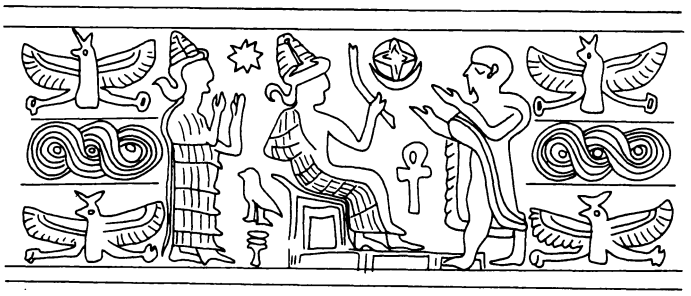

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The frontal hawk in the field
In the upper field (**37**, **168**, **169**, **251**). The hawk in this aspect is normally crownless, and can carry *shen* (**170**) or *ankh* symbols (**37**) in its talons. This is a motif found in monumental iconography (**2d**) and in the minor arts (**2c**). The hawk here occurs in varying contexts that refer to its royal as well as to its solar nature. On **37**, the hawk is placed directly above the Pharaoh. The association of a hovering hawk with the Pharaoh is frequent in Egypt, although the bird is usually depicted in profile with spread wings (cf. **175**) (e.g. Mond and Myers 1940: 1; Pls. XCVI; 8; XCIX: Habachi 1963: Fig. 7; David 1981: 91 UR2; Aldred 1978: Fig. 39) (**2g**). The most common motif to appear in this position above the pharaoh is the winged sun disc, and the placing of the hawk beside rulers on seals such as **168** evokes this motif. On **251**, the hawk is both a royal symbol and a bird of prey. On **169**, the hawk appears directly above a lotus-type tree; here the symbol is clearly used as a substitute winged sun disc (cf. **132** below). The hawk can also be shown in this guise among other solar and royal motifs (e.g. **170**).

Solar

In the upper field
The frontal hawk's solar nature is possibly emphasised here by his crowns: the ram's horns and disc (**132**) and the ram's horns and Hathor (**143**) and otherwise by his context and place in the upper field (cf. **169**, where the hawk replaces the winged sun disc). It is impossible to tell to what extent these crowns were derived from Middle Kingdom prototypes. The ram's horns and disc, for example, was worn by Amun-Re as an anthropomorphic ram in New Kingdom solar and mortuary iconography (see Appendix A). Other New Kingdom and Late Period images from this mythology, such as a falcon wearing ram's horns within a sun disc (Mysliwiec 1978: Fig. 130 from Lefébure 1889) or frontal ram-headed falcons with open wings holding *shen* symbols or cartouches (see **174**) (Mysliwiec 1978: Fig. 31 from Montet 1951; **2f**) are also related to the motif on **132**. The plain sun-disc head-dress was the solar hawk's most common crown. However, in this corpus, the ram's horns and disc crown is also worn by the sphinx (e.g. **132**, **156**) and hawk and ram-headed demons (e.g. **106**), and on **132** both the sphinx and the hawk could have been given matching crowns. On **143**, the hawk has a combined Hathor and ram's horns crown. I have found no Egyptian parallel for this combination of crowns on a hawk although Horus can wear a Hathor crown (Lanzone 1885: Pl. CCCXV: 3). In this corpus, the combined crown is worn by the Egyptian goddess on **14** and **15** and, given Hathor's close link with Horus, this would be a plausible crown for hawks to wear. The solar aspect of the hawk is closely demonstrated on **143** by the two 'jerboas' flanking the hawk with arms raised in worship. This evokes the Egyptian image of the worship of the evening and morning suns where, for example, a hawk with a solar disc on his head fused with the sign for the west – the evening sun – is worshipped by apes (**2d**). Here the animals are not apes, nor would they be holding out a bread offering as on **143** (right). The hawk is also associated with apes in the upper field on **170**.

On a floral staff (**13**, **31**)
On **31**, the crownless, crested bird stands on a papyrus staff in an Egyptianising context. This Egyptian motif refers to the Horus epithet 'Horus who is upon his papyrus plant' (*Ḥar-ḥeri-wadj*). It evokes the episode in mythology when the child Horus was hidden in papyrus marshes. The motif is found as a cult emblem (David 1981: 128, 130 E.Wall UR3). On **13**, the hawk stands on a lotus. Horus was also associated with the lotus in his child aspect (Helck 1977: 1020–1), but this motif does not appear in the corpus.

Terminal (e.g. **99**, **116**, **124**, **171**, **172**)
One of the frontal hawk's regular positions is in the terminal. When not doubled (e.g. **171**) he is often placed in the upper register. He is generally crownless and can hold a *shen* symbol in each claw (e.g. **99**). The double crown as on **99** is not worn by the hawk when in this attitude in Egypt. When in the terminal, the hawk's associations are mixed. He appears beside an Egyptianising figure such as the Egyptian goddess (e.g. **116**, **124**) or Levantine ones, such as rulers (e.g. **172**) and deities (e.g. **99**).

Decorative (e.g. **71**, **136**, **173**)
Crownless hawks in profile above one another (e.g. **71**) are used as a repetitive motif in the terminal. This is a feature particularly characteristic of Group C and Workshop E seals. The hawk can be similarly superimposed with another bird in the terminal (e.g. **106**). Equally, the frontal hawk is found as a repetitive motif in vertical registers (e.g. **173**).

Animal of the field (e.g. **28**, **35**, **49**)
The frontal hawk and the hawk in profile (**35**) are associated with other animals of the field in a 'nature' context. In Egypt, the essentially protective hawk in profile is generally shown above the Pharaoh, or in funerary

contexts, and would not appear as such in natural contexts. On **5**, **50** and **109** the hawk is held out as an animal offering.

Summary: Thus two of the contexts in which the hawk occurs – royal and solar – are compatible with the hawk's Egyptian nature; this seems to have been conscious. The hawk was not developed iconographically in Syria-Levant, in the sense that it was frequently given spurious attributes, nor is there any indication that it was incorporated into nature scenes other than as a bird of prey. The iconography of the hawk in ram's horns crowns, if genuine, on seals **132** and **143** (Periods IIA and IIB) is very unusual and advertently or inadvertently pre-empts Egyptian New Kingdom and Late Period iconography.

5.2.9 The ram-headed bird (**174**)

The identification of this bird as ram-headed is tentative, but based on the fact that it has no beak (cf. **2f**). The manifestation of Amun-Re and of Atum as ram-headed birds has been previously attributed to the New Kingdom (Mysliwiec 1978: 39–41, 51–3), but, as stated in Appendix A non-iconographic evidence for the synchretism between Amun, Re, Horus and Chnum is found in the Middle Kingdom (Barta 1984: 171–2, n. 358, 359). The composite figure on this seal might thus fill a gap in the iconographic record. This seal belongs to Workshop A, which features Egyptianising and Levantine figures from nature and solar beliefs, such as the sphinx (**133**, **134**), the griffin (**181**) and various shepherd or 'master of animals' types (**133**, **178**, **181**). Here, the ram-headed bird fills the space traditionally reserved for the tree with a hawk or a winged sun disc, and may have been intended as a solar symbol.

5.2.10 The vulture (**175–82** and *passim*)

The iconography of the vulture corresponds to that of the goddess Nekhbet and to the bird of prey itself (**2g**, **4m**, **4n**). The identification of the species of vulture (griffin or lappet) is not possible. This is also true for Egypt, where characteristics of both types were merged (Houlihan 1986: 21, 22; 40–3). The vulture occurs in contexts that are similar to that of the hawk, but with different emphases. It is associated with rulers (royal) and occurs in the terminal and as a bird of prey, but rarely as a celestial symbol or as a decorative motif.

Royal (e.g. **31**, **77**, **96**, **167**, **175**, **176**, **217**, **234**, **239**)

The contexts in which the vulture hovers in profile or frontally are interchangeable, although she appears in profile more often with rulers and frontal in the terminal and with animals.

Nekhbet in profile

On **31**, **96**, **167**, **175** (vulture or hawk?) and **239** one or two consecutive vultures, sometimes holding *shen* symbols (e.g. **31**) or *ankhs* (**176**) hover above or beside rulers' heads. This image is paralleled in Egypt both in monumental iconography and in the minor arts, although in Egypt the bird is usually placed slightly behind the Pharaoh's head (e.g. David 1981: 43: IV, 49A; 44 IV; 49B). The two consecutive vultures on **31** and **239** are not standard in royal scenes, where pairs of vultures or vulture and hawk are normally placed antithetically, directly above the Pharaoh's head or at opposite ends of the scene (e.g. Mond 1940: 8; Pl. XCIX; Bisson de la Roque 1937: Figs. 37, 38). Here, the vulture usually faces the king and the hawk hovers above him. The vulture appears thus in only one Egyptianising scene (**31**), and is otherwise associated with Syro-Levantine rulers.

When in profile with folded wing, the vulture appears both as Nekhbet and as a bird of prey. Nekhbet's attitude on **167** with one claw raised in protection, is derived from a common motif, where the goddess is shown standing on the *nb* sign (Gardiner 1978: 73, Sign List: V30). On this seal she appears as one of a number of Egyptian symbols. On **117**, the vulture is directly associated with a deified? Levantine ruler, which may refer to her symbolic role, but she is depicted naturalistically as a bird of prey (cf. **50** on the ruler's staff), as on **234**.

Royal and celestial (see also below)

Frontal (e.g. **77**, **217**, **248**, **264**)

The vulture occurs centrally in the field in Egyptianising scenes (e.g. **77**, with a *shen* in her talons) and Levantine contexts (e.g. **264**). The frontal vulture does not occur in this attitude in royal iconography in Egypt. The iconography of the vulture on **217** and perhaps on **77** which belongs to the same or related Group C, combines

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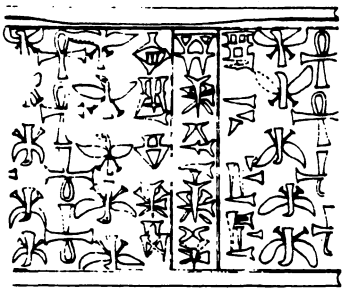

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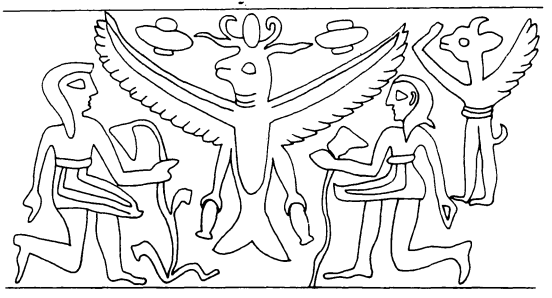

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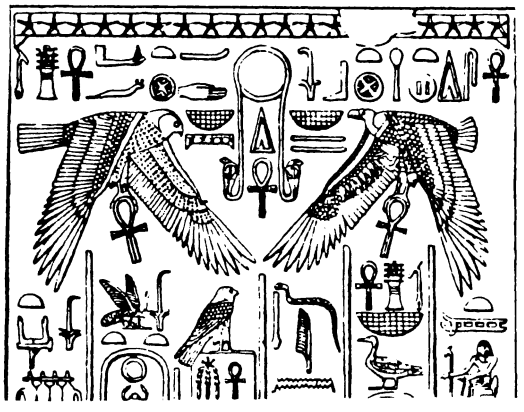

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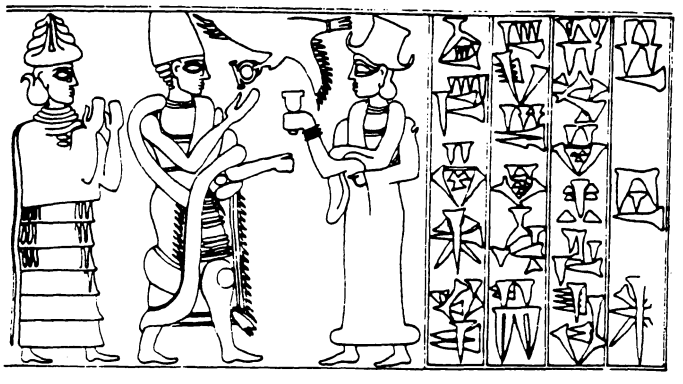

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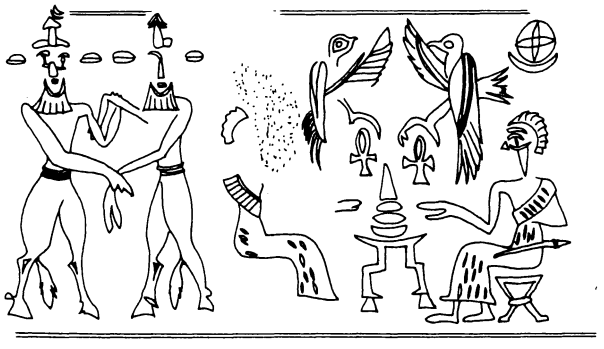

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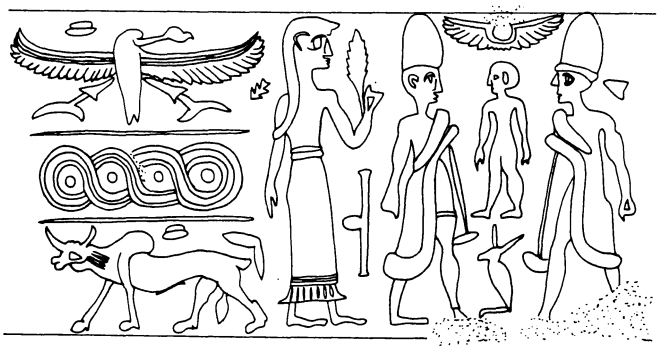

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two vulture iconographies in a non-Egyptian manner. The body of the bird is rendered in profile but its wings are spread frontally. The position of the vulture on **264** and **248** evokes that of the winged sun disc.

In the terminal (e.g. **50**, **104**, **177**, **178**, **190**, **244**)
The vulture appears in both attitudes in the terminal antithetical when flying in profile. She can hold a symbol in her claws (e.g. **178**), and appears with Egyptianising and Levantine associations that do not necessarily relate to ruler iconography (e.g. **178**). On **180** the antithetical vultures occur as a central motif.

With imaginary and realistic animals (e.g. **145**, **179**, **181**, **182**, **188**)

The vulture appears in contexts that relate to Levantine nature and solar mythology. On **179** and **188**, she flies in her protective attitude beside demons and animals of the field, while on **181** she is placed in a celestial or solar context above griffins. The vulture is also straightforwardly associated with animals of the field (e.g. **182**) and the sphinx and other symbols (**145**). Her association in her guise of bird of prey with the sphinx on **50** and **132** is ambivalent.

Naturalistic and scavenger (e.g. **51**, **131**, **161**)

The vulture is represented in scavenging attitudes with bulls (e.g. **51**, **131**) lions (e.g. **161**), naturalistically beside the Nude goddess (**90**), and as a motif with other animals (**182**). On **196**, vultures are shown attacking the victim under the ruler's spear and a vanquished lion respectively. Naturalistic vultures, both flying and at rest, are similarly shown pecking at victims in Egyptian iconography although here the attitude of the plunging bird is closer to that of kingfishers in naturalistic scenes (Houlihan 1896: Fig.164).

Summary: Thus the vulture – in her Nekhbet aspects and as a bird of prey – was integrated much more loosely (and less commonly in percentage terms: (cf. vulture: 1.59 per cent; hawk 5.64 per cent) in Syro-Levantine iconography than was the hawk. As with the hawk, the vulture's iconographies were not tampered with, but her symbolism is often ambivalent (e.g. royal/celestial/bird of prey). She was most exploited in her aspect as a bird of prey.

5.2.11 Divine cobras (**183**)

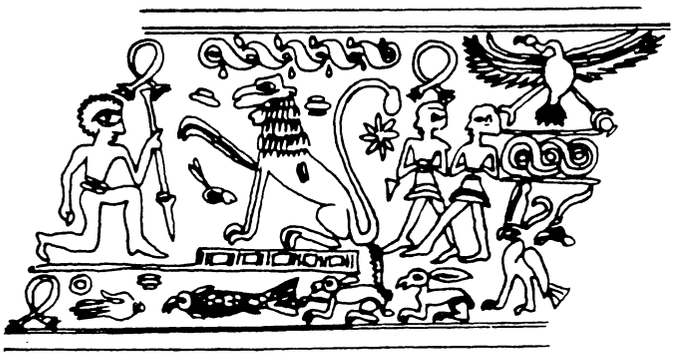
The cobra, which broadly conforms iconographically to the Egyptian uraeus and royal cobra (**2h**, **4o**, **4p**) is represented five times (**11**, **13**, **106**, **183**, **238** and see **120**). In all but one case (**183**), the cobra has Egyptianising associations. On **11** and on **106**, the cobra and cartouches are beside the Egyptian goddesses in the Hathor crown and the vulture head-dress respectively. On **238**, the cobra appears as an Egyptian symbol among others (*sa*, *wḏȝt*). The cobra's closest association on **183** is the moon god but its significance in this context is not easily evaluated. Serpents are traditionally associated with lunar mythology, and it may have been incorporated here on this basis (e.g. Marcopoli: no. 446). However, the ritual implement or weapon held by the moon god is also Egyptianising and reminiscent of the adze used in the opening of the mouth ceremony (**2i**). In this context it appears to have been misunderstood, and used as a ritual weapon, but it may be significant for the source of these motifs that both the cobra in this guise and the adze are characteristic of Egyptian funerary iconography.

The cobra-like offering to the Weather god on **120** is perhaps a reference to the Weather god's link with serpents (Williams-Forte 1983) and/or to the pairing between the Weather god and the Egyptian counterpart to the Nude goddess.

Summary: Royal and uraeus cobras were rare symbols on Levantine glyptic, chiefly linked to Egyptianising subjects. In a Levantine context, on present evidence they appear as unrelated, isolated motifs.

5.2.12 The winged sun disc (**184–97** and *passim*)

The earliest known representations of the winged sun disc outside Egypt is on Syrian glyptic and Anatolian minor arts of the Middle Bronze Age (e.g. Özgüç 1948: Fig. 497a-b (mould)). There is no evidence to suggest that the motif was not adopted from Egypt (**2j**, **2l**, **2n**, **4q**, **4r**) or that it was developed independently in Syria. Nevertheless, it was quickly modified there to become a Syrian symbol of mutable significance while inadvertently sharing some symbolic nuances with Egypt. The seal of Matrunna, the daughter of Aplahanda the King of



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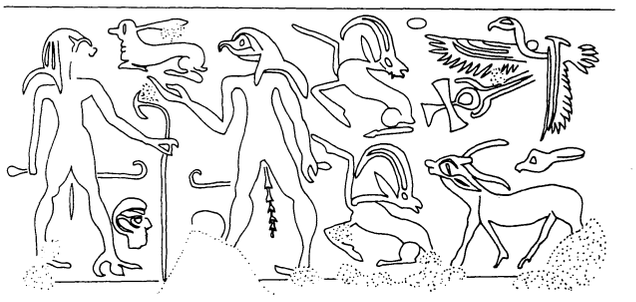

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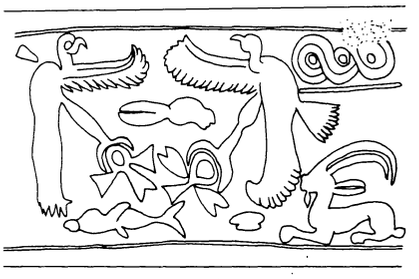

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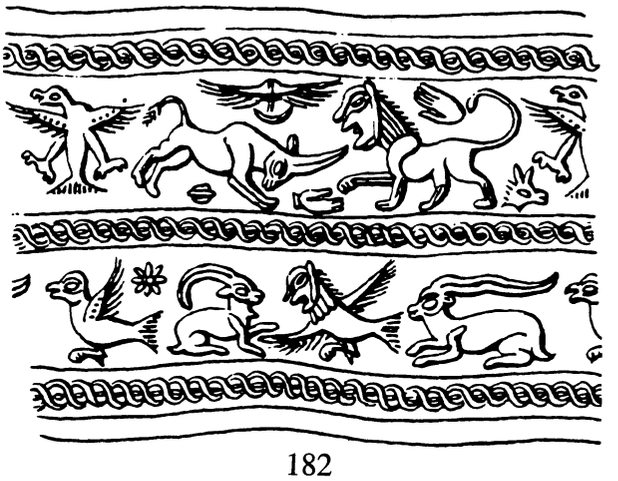

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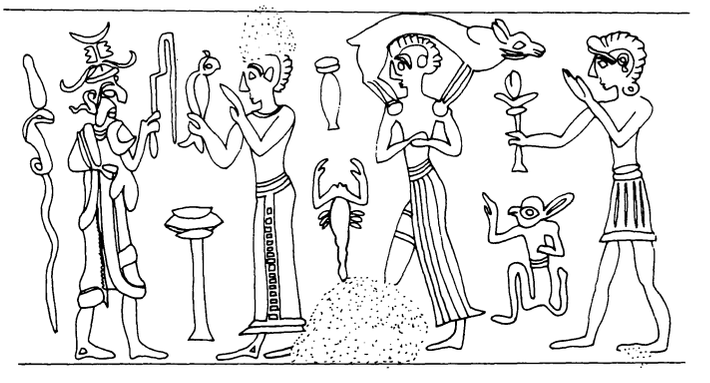

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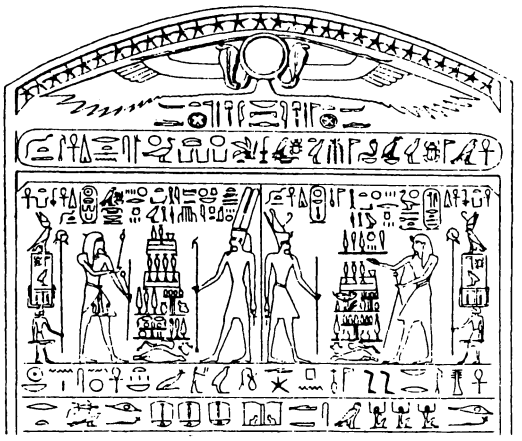

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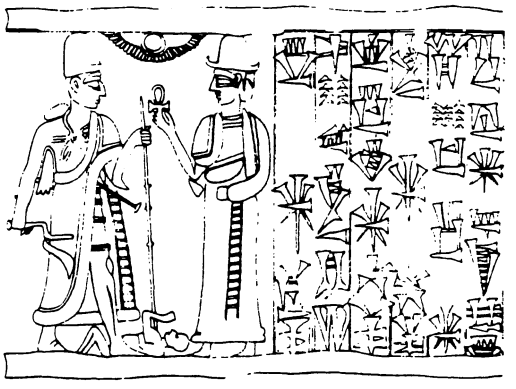

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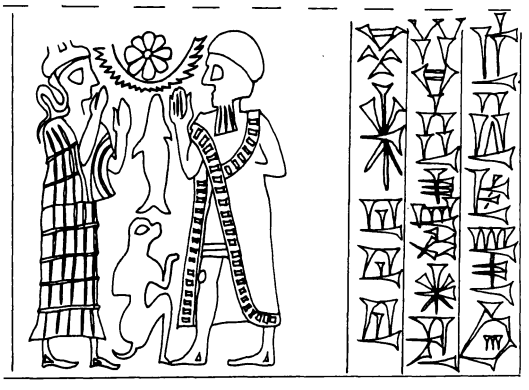

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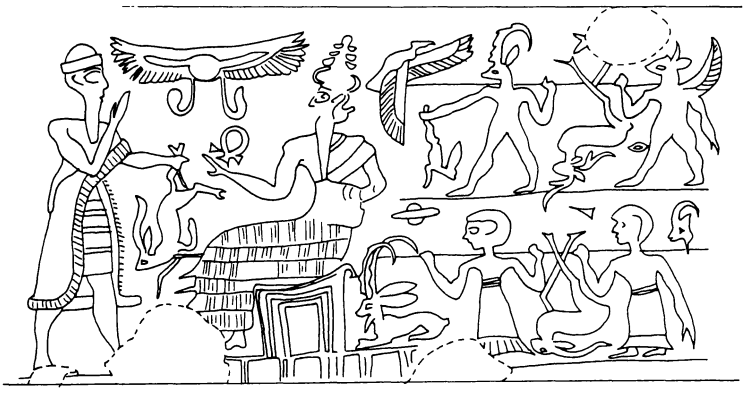

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Carchemish (**186**), shows that by Period IIA the symbol had been fully incorporated and adapted as a winged rosette in Syrian glyptic. Nevertheless, I have not found any winged discs on published Syrian, Syro-Cappadocian or Anatolian glyptic of Period I.

Seals **184–97** represent the winged sun disc and its related symbol, the winged rosette, in their principal contexts on Levantine glyptic. Related images that throw light on the morphology and significance of the symbols are included. The winged sun discs on seals **68**, **184** and **188** are the closest to their Egyptian prototype: there is no difference in the context or treatment of Egyptianising and non-Egyptianising winged discs in Syrian iconography.

A brief survey of the main contexts of the winged sun and rosette disc is given here in order to arrive at a possible interpretation of the symbol in Syria.

The symbol is primarily and extensively depicted with Levantine rulers and their heirs, both on inscribed royal and vassal seals (see Chapter 3) and on uninscribed seals. It very rarely occurs in scenes with the Pharaoh. In such cases, a Syrian ruler is present and the symbol is associated with him rather than with the Pharaoh (e.g. **54**). This demonstrates the degree to which the symbol came to be considered Syrian.

Royal and vassal seals (see Chapter 3)

The winged disc in this context appears without a support. It is normally placed centrally in the upper field, either directly above the ruler's head, or between two rulers, or between the ruler and a patron deity (e.g. the Syrian goddess: **68**, **185**; the Weather god: **184**). This unsupported setting above the ruler is similar to the Egyptian setting which it probably emulates. In the case of **68**, **184**, **185** the disc is solar, but it can also be a rosette (e.g. **186**, the seal of Matrunna: see below for the feminine aspect of this symbol).

Uninscribed seals depicting rulers (e.g. **3**, **50**, **65**, **85**, **86**, **117**, **129**, **131**, **138**, **140**, **172**, **177**, **187–9**, **243**, **250**, **254**)

The placing of the symbol is identical to that described above. Here the rulers are associated with a greater variety of deities and figures, such as a Mesopotamian deity: **188**; a high-ranking female: **85**; the Pharaoh: **54**; another ruler: **114**; and heirs or progeny: **129**, **131**. Again, in the majority of cases, the disc is solar. On e.g. **131** and **140** it is a rosette.

With Support or tree (e.g. **187**).
On a number of seals, the winged disc is associated with a support or a stylised palm and two interacting figures in a classic Syrian motif. The interacting figures are usually two rulers (e.g.**187**) or a ruler and a goddess. The Suppliant goddess is the most common in this context, followed by the Nude goddess. Both these goddesses occur in this context because of their respective associations with the ruler and with the tree. The nature of the ritual(s) is not known but is evidently connected to the palm, as a solar tree and as a 'tree of life'. Again, the disc can be solar (e.g. **187**) or a rosette (e.g. **189**).

The winged sun and rosette and female deities (e.g. **88**, **94**, **163**)

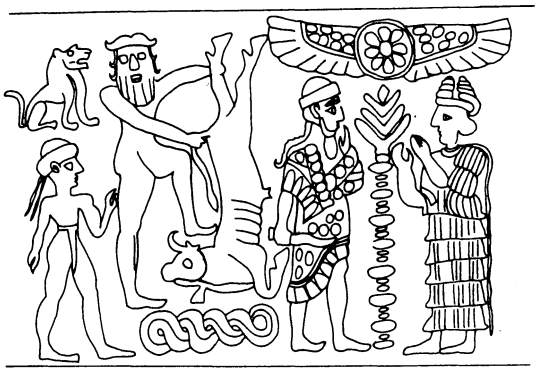
The association between the winged sun, but particularly the winged rosette, and fertility goddesses or symbols is clearly shown in several instances. The iconography of **163**, for example, is emphatically feminine (Nude goddess, Syrian goddess, griffins in Hathor crowns). On **88**, **94** and **202**, the winged sun and rosette respectively are associated with Hathor iconography. Associations with the Nude goddess also occur (cf. **243**).[10]

The winged disc in other contexts

Officiants (**190**, **191**)
The palm and the winged sun disc above it are the focus of rituals in which the participants are not the usual rulers. The figures on **190** do not wear standard ruler mantles. The naked, kneeling figures on **191** are associated with nature scenes and are shown in a similar attitude beside an *ankh* (**214**).[11]

10 On Williams-Forte 1976: no. 58 (Moore collection), the winged sun disc is placed directly on the Nude goddess's head.

11 Buchanan 1966: no. 886, dated to Period IIA, shows an interesting variant of this subject, which is closely related to the imagery of the winged sun disc: the disc and crescent on the palm are flanked by two birds.



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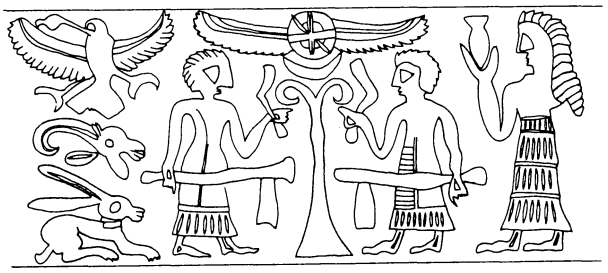

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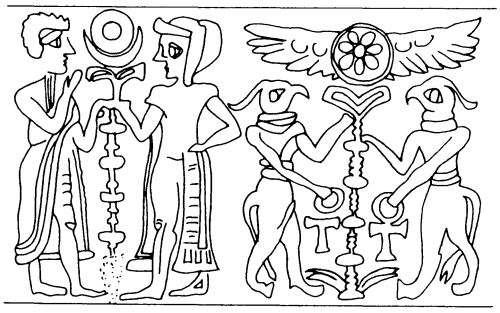

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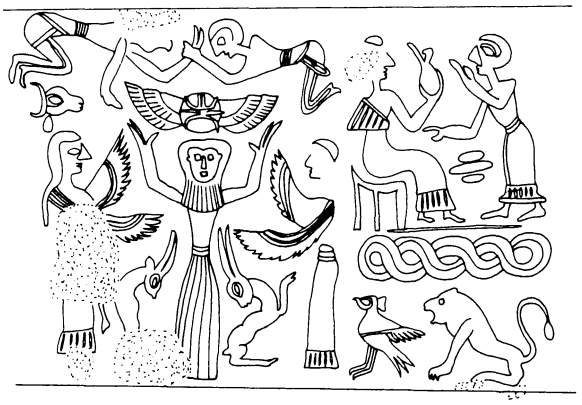

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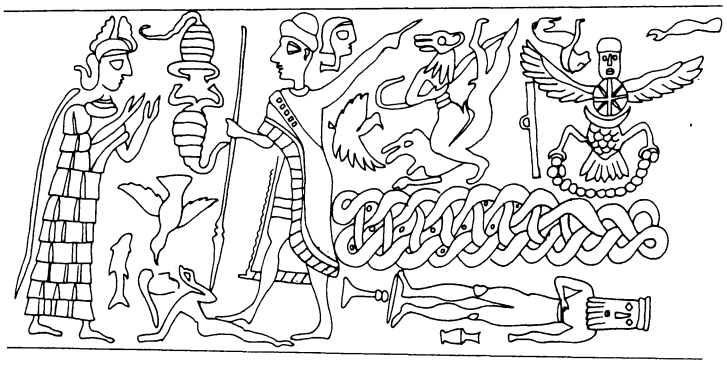

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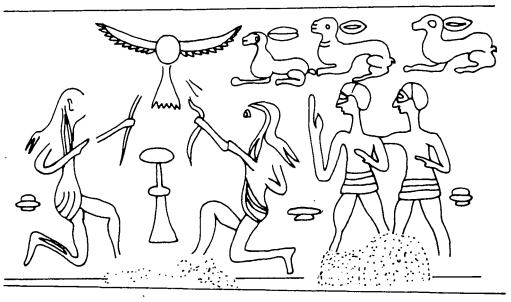

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Bull men (**192**)
The palm supporting the winged rosette is held by two bull men. This image is derived from Mesopotamian iconography, where the bull man, as an adjunct of Shamash the sun god, is depicted holding a standard with the sun disc. This image also occurs in Syrian iconography.[12]

Anthropomorphic and animal griffins (**193**, **194**)
In Syrian iconography, the griffin is largely depicted as a celestial demon, associated with the tree in its solar and fertility aspects: thus on **193** the griffins hold the tree, whereas on **194**, the anthropomorphic griffin supports the winged sun.[13]

Bearded hero (**195**)
I have found no other example of the frontal bearded male supporting the winged sun disc in Middle Bronze Age glyptic. The iconography and associations of this figure are related to those of third and second millennium heroes, bull men and atlas figures, ultimately linked to Mesopotamian celestial mythology.[14] The association of the winged disc with this figure is peculiar to Syria. Combined with the winged protectors and the flying figures in the upper field, the imagery of this seal is celestial, and does not have any of the water associations of related atlas figures.[15]

Other symbols and animals
The winged disc appears with a number of symbols that relate to its solar or rosette component, such as the sphinx (e.g. **142**), the Hathor head (e.g. **150**), or the Nekhbet vulture and other animals (e.g. **182**).

The anthropomorphic and zoomorphic winged sun disc (**196**)

The winged sun disc with a crescent is shown here with the lower body of a bird of prey, emerging from two mountain peaks and surmounted by a frontally facing human head. The head seems to have a head-dress, but this is partly obliterated by a chip. This image seems to illustrate the nature of the winged disc and crescent. The interpretation of the lower part of the image is straightforward. By analogy with Mesopotamian iconography, the two mountain peaks are the peaks behind which the sun rises (Buchanan 1966: nos. 345–7). The sun disc and crescent represent themselves, but at the same time they constitute the body of the bird of prey – probably an eagle – whose wings are outstretched. The head of the symbol has no analogy. It anthropomorphises the whole, perhaps in order to give the symbol a distinct, divine (?) identity.

As a bird (**197**)

Here, the disc has been given the tail and wings of a bird, but not the head. The symbol is held down by two kneeling figures who hold leashes or streamers attached to the bird's body. The image of streamers may have been inspired by Egyptian hanging uraei (cf. **188**), although the notion of holding down a heavenly body with leashes occurs in the imagery of Mesopotamia (Buchanan 1966: nos. 340, 397, 398). The winged disc substituted by the Horus hawk (e.g. **169**) and the Nekhbet vulture (**181**) have already been mentioned.

Interpretation and summary

The contexts listed above demonstrate the versatile associations of this symbol. These relate to its multi-faceted aspects, of which the following are the most plausible.

Solar symbol

The winged sun disc could be interpreted as a solar symbol by analogy with Egypt, but this would not be grounds for assessing its significance in Syria-Levant. Its solar symbolism is substantiated, however, by its

12 In Mesopotamia e.g. CANES: no. 366; in Syria e.g. Buchanan 1981: no. 1239. For the bull-man holding a palm see n. 14 below.

13 For the griffin and solar symbolism, see e.g. Delaporte 1923: A 916; Marcopoli: no. 495.

14 The frontal face and full beard of this figure is reminiscent of the Mesopotamian hero with curls associated with the bull-man and sun standard, and with water and fish (e.g. Amiet 1980: no. 1475; Collon 1986b: nos. 144, 148). Bull-men, heroes and miscellaneous deities are found from the third millennium as atlas figures supporting deities or symbols in Mesopotamian and Syrian iconography (e.g. Boehmer 1965: Taf. L591; Matthiae 1977: Fig. 14, upper right; Amiet 1980: nos. 1477, 1478) or associated with the winged temple (Ward 1910: no. 361).

15 An image remarkably close to 195 occurs on a Neo-Babylonian seal: a frontal, bearded hero supports a winged sun disc, but is flanked by priests in fish robes (Williams-Forte 1976: no. 40).

association with the palm, and on **196** with its solar imagery. The association of the sun with the palm was both an Egyptian and a Mesopotamian concept, but Syrian imagery was derived from the latter. In Egypt the palm was considered to be one of the seats of Re at his rising (Hermsen 1981: 110–11; Faulkner 1978: Spells 186, 202, 325). The image of the sun above a tree occurs in Egypt, but rarely (Budge 1898: 211). The winged sun disc, is never shown in direct association with a palm tree, however, even though palm pillars became an important element in funerary architecture at periods when the sun cult was strong (IVth, XIIth, VXIIIth Dynasties) (Hermsen 1981: 47–8). In Mesopotamia, the association of Shamash with the palm is attested from the third millennium (Danthine 1937: 160–1; 572: Pl. 85; Frankfort 1939: Pl. XIXa). Thus, although the image of the winged disc above the palm was evolved in Syria, it partly relates to Mesopotamian concepts. The Suppliant goddess, who was associated with the palm and with the solar bull in Mesopotamia and Iran,[16] frequently appears beside the palm and the winged disc on Syrian glyptic. Dalley has argued that in the first millennium the winged sun disc was a symbol on which oaths of loyalty to the king and his family were sworn (Dalley 1986: 97–101). In the first part of the second millennium, too, at Mari and in Mesopotamia, oaths were taken before the emblem of Shamash or sun disc, as well as before other emblems (Dalley 1986: 92–3). It is thus possiblethat the solar element of the winged disc may have evoked concepts of justice and legality, and in ritual contexts – for example, between two rulers – may even have had a ratifying function.

Stellar and fertility symbol

The rosette was the traditional symbol of Ishtar in her astral aspect and by association became a symbol of femininity. There are two possible reasons for the incorporation of this symbol into the iconography of the winged disc. One, which would explain the popularity of the symbol in Syrian ruler iconography, is that it evokes the association between rulers and Ishtar, a major patroness of rulers in Syria. The second reason pertains to the tree. As well as being solar, the palm was a 'tree of life' or of 'fecundity'. In the latter cases the tree can take on an additional aspect, such as volutes which, indicate a different nature. This aspect of the tree is brought out by, the presence of the Nude goddess, for example, who is also an aspect of Ishtar, beside the tree (e.g. **163**) or of Hathor with a tree growing out of her head (**202**). When the winged disc is near the Nude goddess or to Hathor, the disc, more often than not, is a rosette. Thus the rosette must also evoke fertility.[17]

Sky symbol

The wings of the symbol are more than just solar or stellar images. Incorporating celestial bodies (the solar disc and crescent, the rosette star), they were an additional image that evoked the sky or the heavens. The depiction of wings on celestial figures was commonplace: it is found both in Mesopotamia and Egypt. In Egypt, the wings of the sun disc were those of Horus. These had celestial connotations although the winged sun disc was not primarily a sky symbol in Egypt. In the Levant, there is no indication that the wings of one species of bird were necessarily preferred above another. Because the symbol was adopted from Egypt, the wings resemble the Egyptian type, but they could be those of an eagle (e.g. **196**) or of any other winged being. The idea of protection may also have played a part in this context.

Royal symbol

The winged disc was considered a status symbol, since the placing of it above rulers in mostly non-royal seals (see Chapter 3) emulated Egyptian representations of it above the Pharaoh. A further reason for its becoming a favourite motif in ruler iconography was probably its multi faceted symbolism. To recapitulate briefly, these are: 1) solar and solar palm ideology, with their connotations of justice and law, originally derived from Mesopotamia; 2) stellar ideology with its association with Ishtar, patronage and fertility, derived from Mesopotamia and Syria, and into which Hathor was incorporated; 3) a celestial and probably protective symbol; and 4) a royal symbol.

Thus embodying a number of concepts, the motif of the winged sun disc, which owes its imagery to Egypt, proved to be a particularly useful symbol in Syria-Levant of the Middle Bronze Age. Its solar symbolism was common to both cultures, but with different connotations.

16 For example, Amiet 1977: 56: brick panels decorating the temple of Inshushinak at Susa show the alternating motif of a Suppliant goddess and a bull-man holding a palm.

17 Marcopoli: no. 445 shows two nude females holding a stand with a sun disc and a realistic tree growing behind the Nude goddess in the centre. There is a star in the sky. These images of fertility are all related to the symbolism of the winged sun and rosette.

5.2.13 The Hathor head (**198–206** and *passim*)

The Hathor head (**1w**, **2k**, **4s**) appears in a number of contexts that evoke different aspects of Hathor's nature.

Egyptianising context (**22**)

The Hathor head from which two attached arms dispense *ankh*s is placed directly above the Pharaoh's head. This grouping is un-Egyptian. Human arms attached to symbols, including Hathoric ones (Hathor head: Baines 1975: e.g. Fig. 38; sistrum: Gardiner, Peet and Černý 1955: 202: Pl. LXII): and holding symbols (*ankh*, cartouche) are part of Egyptian iconography, although not in the attitude depicted here (cf. **206**). The arms are usually bent at the elbow, but never at right angles, and raised or lowered (e.g. Gardiner, Peet and Černý 1955: 202: Pl. LXII; Radwan 1975: 222–3 Dok. 18–21; and see **202**). The arm position on **22** may be derived from the Egyptian hieroglypic gesture of negation with the characteristic palms outwards (cf. Gardiner 1978: Sign List: D32 (enclosing, embracing) and D35 (gesture of negation); Collon 1975: no. 136, n. 6), and may have been used on this seal because there was no space to accommodate hanging arms. The dispensing of *ankh*s in this context evokes lustration (cf. **4**, **43**).

Levantine context

With rulers (**198–201**)

The head placed in the upper (**198**, **200**) and lower field (**199**) is associated with rulers and their patron goddesses, the Suppliant goddess (**200**) and the Nude goddess (**198**). Sphinxes and rosettes should be noted on **200**. The head on **201** resembles that of Humbaba (e.g. Collon 1982: no. 15), but has Hathor-like curls and Hathor head associations: the Nude goddess and sphinxes below the seated figures (the latter are nor shown in the drawing).

With the tree (**202**)

This seal depicts a winged Hathor head supporting a schematic female torso from which two arms are raised alongside a stylised tree. If reversed, the position of the two arms is close to the Egyptian sign for enclosing or embracing (Gardiner 1978: Sign List: D31, D32). The lower shoots of the tree are palmiform and issue from the torso. The upper part of the tree consists of four superimposed volutes with central rosettes. This upper part is edged by a corona of small shoots. The iconography of the head is remarkable for its wings, whose shape evokes the goddess's horns as well as her celestial nature. A winged rosette is above the tree. This motif graphically fuses Syrian and Egyptian concepts. The ruler and the Suppliant goddess flank the tree in the standard manner (e.g. **189**), but the tree here is not a solar palm, but a composite 'tree of life'; in this case specifically linked to Hathor. The latter's aspect as a tree goddess has already been referred to (and see Appendix A). The rosette in the winged disc emphasises the feminine aspect in the tree.

With sphinxes (see under Sphinxes 148–51)

With a combat and sphinxes (**203**)

On this seal, the Hathor head is placed between a combat with a lion, with two sphinxes to the side. This evokes Hathor's link with lions and sphinxes, with whom wrestlers are often associated (e.g. Yale 705, B. N. 435, CANES 955). The association of the Hathor head with combatants or wrestlers, sphinxes and rosettes is also indirectly shown on **200**.

With lions and rosettes (**204**, **205**)

The association on **204** between Hathor, the lions? and the rosettes is closely related to the motif of Hathor with sphinxes and rosettes. On **205**, the head in the terminal is also associated with rosettes.

With boats (**206**)

The association of the Hathor head with boats is to date unique in Levantine glyptic. This sea-faring context, which is probably a later addition, may refer to Hathor's patronage of the sea and foreign parts (see Appendix A). The original context of the seal is not clear, although it includes griffins, another Hathor association.

Summary: The Hathor head evokes the goddess's aspects as patroness and life-giver, as well as her celestial nature in both Egyptian and Syro-Levantine terms. The symbol dispenses *ankh*s or is the source of a tree of life, but can be winged or appear in the upper sky as a sky symbol. The head, sometimes guarded by sphinxes, is

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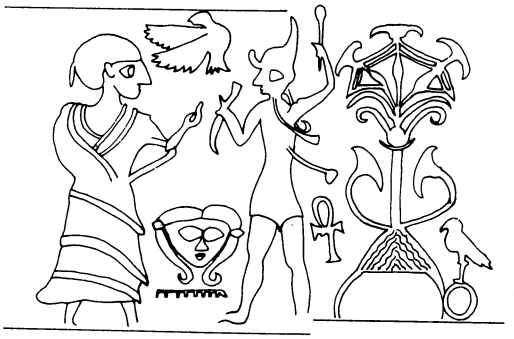

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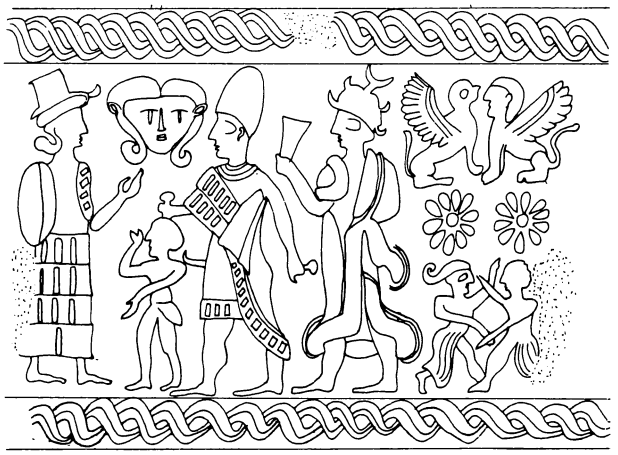

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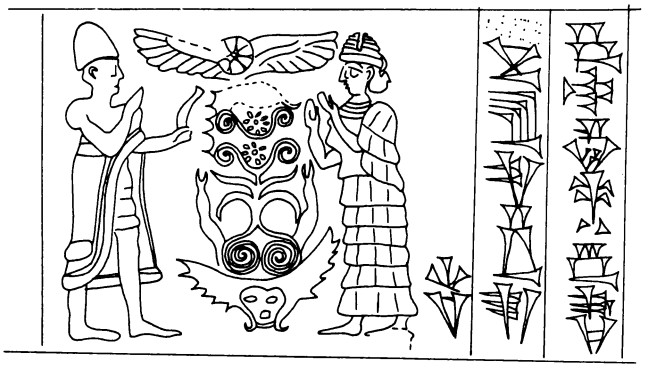

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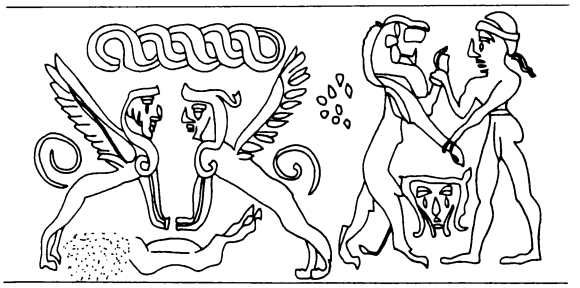

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associated with figures and other symbols, such as the water hero, the Nude goddess, the rosette, the winged sun disc, which complement these aspects.

5.2.14 The *ankh* and other symbols

Introduction

With the exception of the *ankh* (**4t-w**), which is by far the most common Egyptian symbol in this corpus and one of the most common of all symbols in the Syro-Levantine repertoire (13.3 per cent), other Egyptian symbolic signs are scant. The *djed* is the second most common symbol (1.73 per cent) followed by the *shen*, the *sa*, the 'loop' and the *wḏȝt* eye (0.28 per cent). All these symbols are used independently on Levantine glyptic and never in the symbolic combinations of hieroglyphs characteristic of Egypt (e.g. *ankh, djed, was*; *was, djed, tjet* (**5d**); *ankh, sa*; papyrus, *ankh, sa*). An exception is made in the representation of the lustration fluid, which, as in Egypt, can be composed of *ankhs* and *djeds* (**88**) (Gardiner 1950; Mariette 1869: Pl. 26) (**1c**).

The *ankh* (**207–15** and *passim*)

Independent symbol

The *ankh* is most frequently found as an independent symbol, placed beside figures at an appropriate and/or convenient place in the field. It is primarily associated with the Pharaoh or the Egyptian goddess, and secondarily with Levantine rulers and their principal patroness, the Syrian goddess. It is also associated with other Egyptian and Levantine deities such as Horus, the Weather god and the Nude goddess, but inconsistently so. Its use is otherwise miscellaneous. Thus it is found, with officiants in rituals (e.g. **212, 213, 214**); acrobats (**223**); with nature and fertility figures such as the water hero (**242**), the bull man (**85**); with other symbols such as the sphinx and plants; and in single or multiple rows, sometimes as a terminal (e.g. **173, 209, 215**). The number of *ankhs* in the field does not exceed two or three unless they are used decoratively. They can occur in the field in addition to already being held as an attribute. Typological differences do not appear to be significant: on **49**, two different *ankh* types appear together. The usual place for the *ankh* is in the lower or middle field, sometimes substituting for another object, such as a laden table (e.g. **208**). This placing in the lower and middle field is consistent with its nature as a life or water symbol: the upper field is reserved for sky symbols. However, it does Occasionally occur in the upper field in lieu of a sky symbol (e.g. **207**). In such Egyptianising scenes as **61** and **77**, it is placed in the upper field by the heads of figures. This is more consistent with Egyptian usage in which *ankhs*, if not held in the hand (mostly by deities, rarely by the Pharaoh, and even more rarely by commoners: Fischer 1974) are held forward to the Pharaoh's face or held above his head by a Horus hawk or Nekhbet vulture. The symbol is either placed symmetrically between two figures, in which case it presumably pertains to both, or is unequivocally associated with one figure. A bird (falcon type, chick, miscellaneous crested) is sometimes placed on the *ankh* (e.g. **57, 85, 242**).

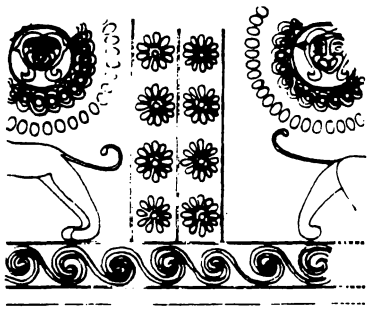
In rituals and as an attribute

On **22, 251-253** the Nude and Syrian goddesses hold out the symbol to the ruler in a manner that emulates the Egyptian gesture of 'giving life' (see Chapter 3 and below). The angle at which the *ankh* is held on **251** is Egyptian, whereas on **22, 252** and **253** it is held upright in an un-Egyptian manner. On **68**, it is not clear who is giving and who is receiving the symbol (see Chapter 3). On **184**, the Syrian goddess holds the *ankh* behind a figure (the Weather god) in an un-Egyptian manner.

The motif of the encircling *ankhs* on **210** is a free adaptation of the Egyptian purification ritual motif. The figure, who does not appear to be a deity, may be showering the *ankhs* over herself. This has little significance here, as the episode has no context.

The *ankh* is rare as a prominent symbol in non-Egyptianising rituals. On **212** and **213** it is linked to unknown rituals involving offerings and fertility figures; on **214**, it is the focus of a ritual between two figures often found in 'nature' scenes. On **215**, a small officiant holds out a pot from which a figure plucks out an *ankh*. Collon rightly links this motif to a Syrian concept (Collon 1975: 80, n. 4).

As an attribute of the Pharaoh or Egyptian deities, and the Horus hawk and the Nekhbet vulture, the *ankh* needs no comment. It was not adopted by Syrian deities, except in official iconography as replacement for the cup held by the Syrian goddess (see Chapter 3) and it is not often held by non-Egyptian rulers or officials (**65, 85, 105, 169, 259** and see **211** where *ankhs* are held above the head of the bare-headed figure in the mantle). The *ankh* can also be held by imaginary Syro-Levantine figures, such as genii (**211**) or griffins (**193**).



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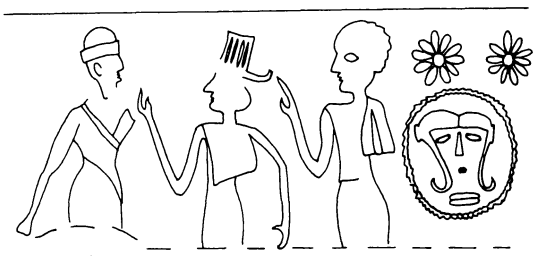

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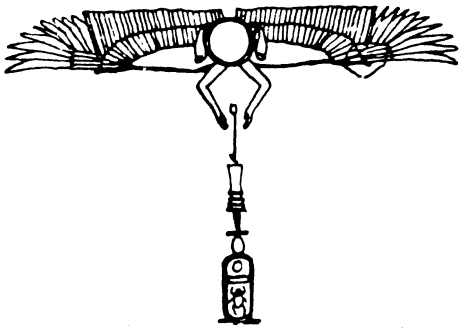

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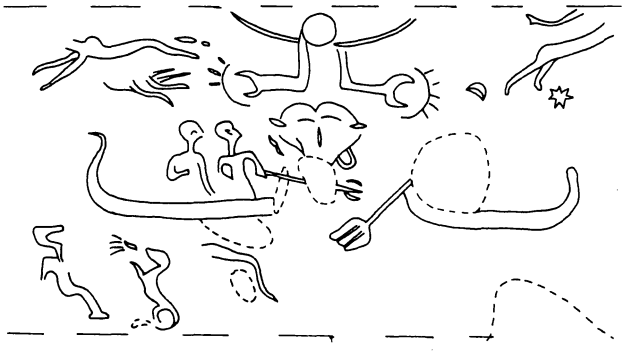

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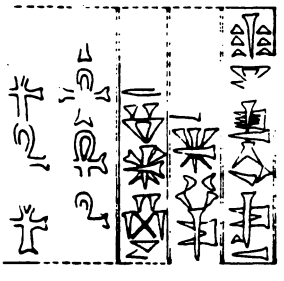

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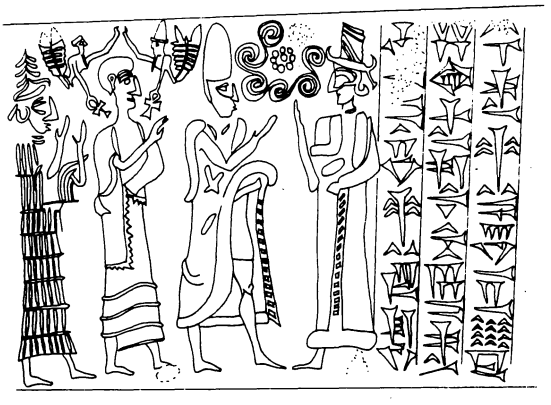

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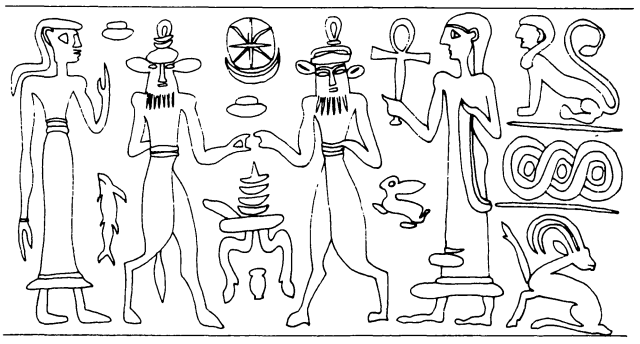

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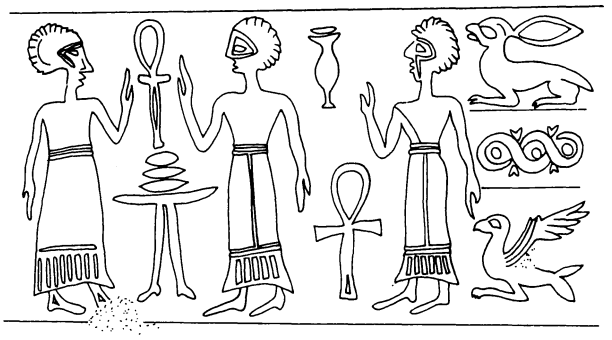

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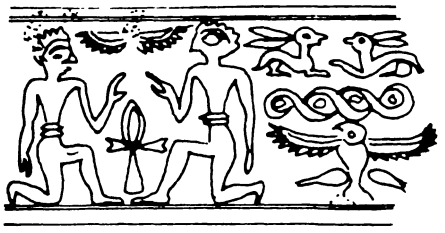

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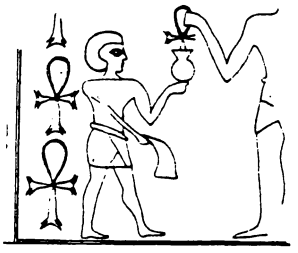

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2m

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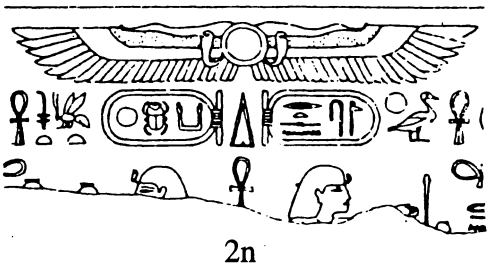

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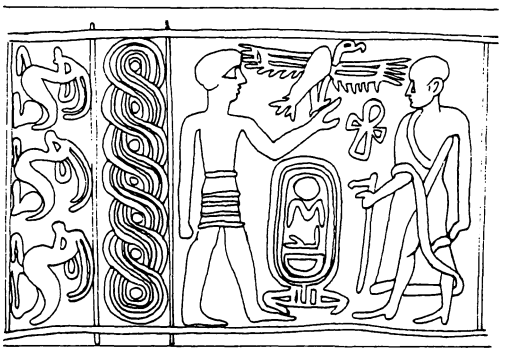

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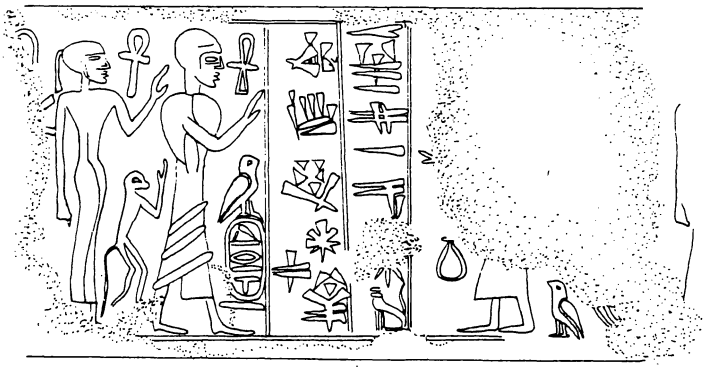


218

Summary: The association of the *ankh* as an attribute or otherwise with Egyptianising figures is self-evident, although its use in these contexts is not necessarily canonical. The use of the *ankh* in an Egyptianising manner by Syrian figures is also straightforward. In other contexts, an emphasis appears to be made on the *ankh* as a symbol of water (e.g. **215**), as well as one of life and growth (**193**, **242**).

The *sa*? (**238**)

The closed loop motif on **238** resembles the *sa* (Gardiner 1978: 17: Sign List: V17, 18) (**4x**). The *sa* was a symbol of protection, closely associated with Bes, and with other apotropaic symbols and figures on Middle Kingdom magical wands (Altenmüller 1975: 65–7, and e.g. Figs. 4, 13, 16, 17). This symbol occurs only once, in an Egyptianising context, with the *wḏ3t*.

The 'cord' (**80**, **134**, **178**, **216**)

This looped symbol resembles the hieroglyph for 'cord' or 'rope' *šn* (Gardiner 1978: Sign List: V7, 8), which is related in form to one type of *sa* (Gardiner 1978: Sign List: V17) (**2m**, **4y**). The symbol occurs independently in the field (three times on **178**), and is held in the hand by the Egyptian goddess on **80** and by the winged goddess on **216**. It is specifically associated with nature scenes, where an apotropaic value would be appropriate (cf. **2m**: the symbol on an apotropaic wand).

The *shen* (**31**, **77**, **99**, **167**, **170**, **171**, **175**, **178**)

Originally the antecedent of the cartouche (Gardiner 1978: Sign List: V9), described as a 'source of life' in the Middle Kingdom (Jéquier 1921: 336 nos. 855–6), and a symbol of duration, benefits and protection (Müller-Winkler 1984: 578–9). The form of the *shen* on **31**, **99**, **175**, **178** corresponds to the Egyptian type (**2c**, **2f**, **4z**). On **171** the symbol? is not clear. This symbol does not occur independently but, as in Egypt, it is associated with the Horus hawk, the Nekhbet vulture and as a base for another symbol (**167**).

The cartouche (**217–20** and *passim*)

The cartouche (e.g. **2e**, **2l**, **2n**, **5a**) occurs as a symbol (see Chapter 3 for cartouches enclosing hieroglyphs), in Egyptianising and in rare Syro-Levantine contexts. In the former, it occurs with sphinxes (**51**, **153**), with cobras (**11**, **106**) and with the ram-headed bird (**174**). The symbol on **174** is identified as a cartouche rather than a *shen* because of its elongated form. The placing of the cartouche in the bird's claws is accurately Egyptian but the cartouche is blank. On **240**, the cartouche enclosing an indeterminate marking is placed above a Levantine ruler's knees. Like the other Egyptianising figures on this seal, the cartouche attempts to portray the Egyptian genre, although the placing of it is completely un-Egyptian. On **85**, the cartouche containing two falcons and an *ankh* is placed in a non-Egyptian setting above a standard and symbolically associated with fertility motifs: bull men with erect phalluses, two *ankh*s. It may relate to the female figure (queen?) holding an *ankh* on the same seal.

The *tjet* or sistrum (**9**, **14**, **47**, **81**, **92**)

The object held by the Pharaoh and the Egyptian goddess in mostly Egyptianising contexts evokes both the *tjet* (Gardiner 1978: Sign List: V 39) (**5b**) and a sistrum. Neither was an usual attribute of the Pharaoh in Egypt. The sistrum as an attribute of Hathor and the *tjet* as an attribute of Isis are discussed in Appendix A.

The *djed* (**2**, **34**, **58**, **73**, **88**, **109**, **123**, **131**, **138**, **171**, **240**)

The *djed* (**5c**, **5d**) occurs in the lower field in both Egyptianising and Levantine contexts where it is predominantly associated with rulers. In a Levantine context, it can appear in lieu of an offering stand (e.g. **131**, **138**). As with the *ankh*, a bird is sometimes placed on top of the symbol (e.g. **171**).

The *wḏ3t* eye (**123**, **238**)

The eyes on **123** and **238** can be readily identified (**5e**). The symbol occurs once in an Egyptianising context (**238**) and once in a Levantine context (**123**). In the former it is found with probably another apotropaic symbol, the *sa*. In the latter, it is appropriately associated with Horus hawks and placed in the upper field. The symbol is

extremely common in Egypt and it is striking that there should be so few examples of it in Syro-Levantine glyptic (see Chapter 6).

The head on a standard (**167**)

Although this emblem is uncanonically portrayed, I suggest it is a conflation of the head standards carried by the *ka* ('vital force') of the Pharaoh during ceremonies (**5g**) and the shaft and *shen* base of another emblem, akin to the lotus leaf on a *shen*, again placed beside the Pharaoh in rituals (cf. Arnold 1974: Pl. 22, carried by the *ka*, behind the figure of the king, or in the field behind and in front of the king) (**5f**). The heads carried by the *ka* are emblematic divine heads, and can be wigged, crowned and bearded (Baines 1975: 38-41; Habachi 1963: Fig. 15; **5g**). The occurrence of this royal motif on an official seal whose other symbols (two Nekhbet vultures, the Horus hawk, the *ankh*) are all Egyptian, is plausible. Heads on standards are not foreign to Syro-Cappadocian or Syrian iconography, but they are a completely different type and occur in different contexts (Collon 1975: 76–7 n. 4; cf. CANES: nos. 918e, 919; Marcopoli nos. 429, 430).

Ritual adze (**183**)

The form of the implement held by the moon god on **183** recalls that of the ritual adze used in the Egyptian opening of the mouth ceremony to restore senses to the deceased and to bring statues to life (Faulkner 1972: e.g. 53–4 Spell 23) (**2i**, **5h**). This implement and the cobra in the white crown are the only two Egyptianising symbols on this seal. The reasons for their association with the moon god are not clear, although in Egypt they occur in related contexts.

5.2.15 Floral and decorative motifs (**221–33** and *passim*)

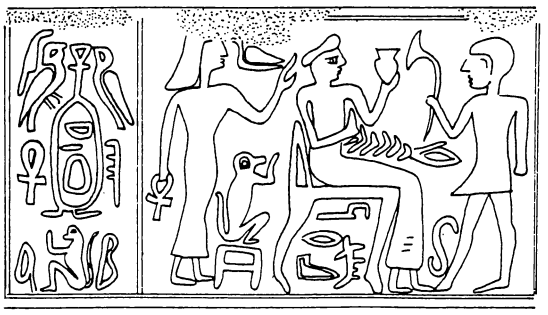
Egyptianising floral elements are represented in three principal contexts:
(1) as flower offerings or staves
(2) as trees and
(3) as decorative motifs.
The lotus and the papyrus are the dominant forms. The pomegranite may represented on **229–31**, but is difficult to distinguish from the lotus.

(1) Flower offerings, staves

The motif of Egyptianising and non-Egyptianising figures holding flowers, plants or floral staves is derived from Egyptian flower-holding or offering scenes (**1f**, **1l**, **2w**, **4g**). It also occurs on Middle Bronze Age scarabs from Palestine (**1m**, **2o**, **2v**, **2x**). The distinction between the flower as an offering and as a staff is not always clear on the seals, nor can the species always be identified (e.g. **54**, **121**, **174**). The plant can be held towards a figure in an offering gesture (e.g. **13**) or just held (e.g. **23**), or held between two figures (e.g. **221**).

Lotus
The lotus flower and leaf (**5i**) are usually represented with short, pliant stems (e.g. **237**) or long, curved stems, which evoke staves (e.g. **12**, **13**). The former are the more characteristically Egyptian. The plant can also appear uncharacteristically both growing and held (e.g. **26**), with a straight pole-like stem, similar to a tree (e.g. **19**, **25**, **61**), or it may have a *was*-like end (**238**). These plants are characteristically held by the Pharaoh and the Egyptian goddess and to a lesser extent by miscellaneous Egyptianising figures (e.g. **238**) and non-Egyptianising figures (e.g. **222**). As with the lotus symbol, the plant was also assimilated into Syro-Levantine scenes with 'nature' imagery: on **124**, the lotus is held by a demon in proximity to Egyptian goddesses; and on **222**, it is held by a naked figure of the field.

Papyrus
The plant (**5k**, **5l**) occurs in contexts that are both Egyptianising (**31**) and Levantine (**216**). The association between Horus and the papyrus staff (and lotus) has been mentioned under Horus. The plant is usually held as a staff (e.g. **31**) in its Egyptianising form, once with a *was*-like end (**238**), but it can sometimes occur as an offering (cf. **123**, **216**). It also occurs in a foreshortened form (e.g. **63**).



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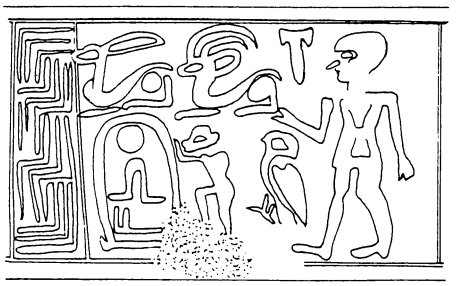

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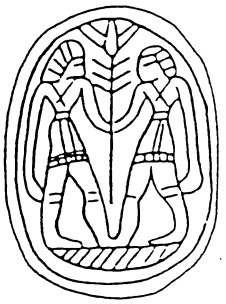

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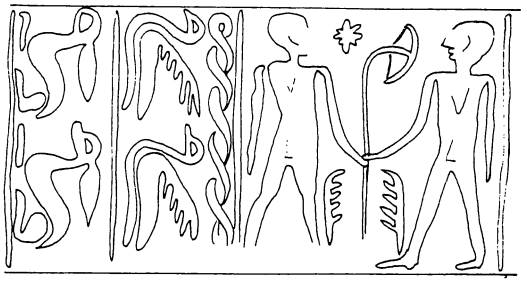

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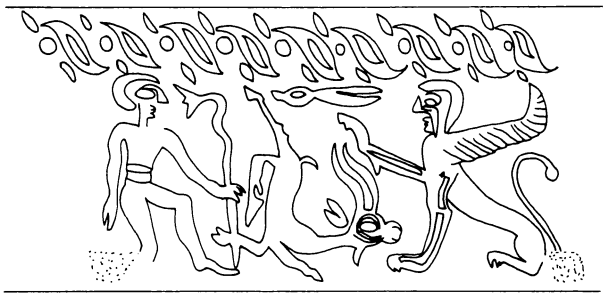

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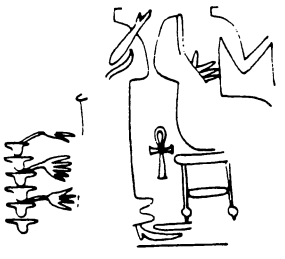

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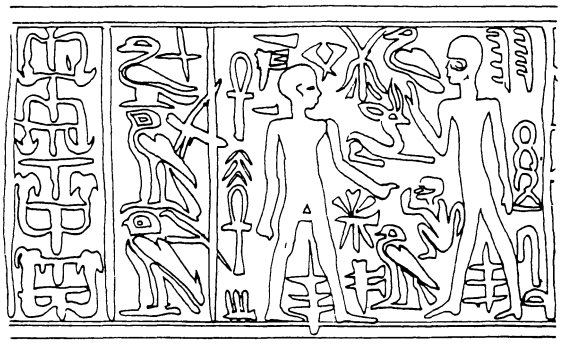

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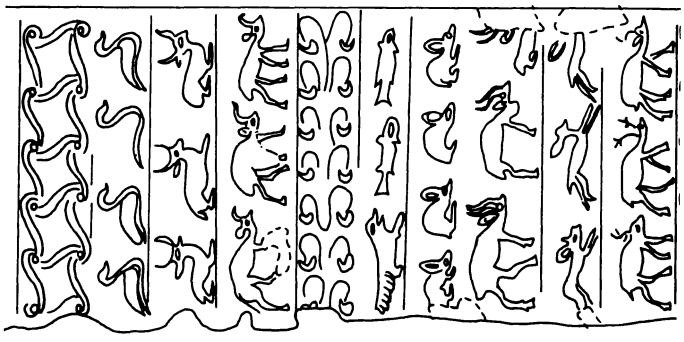

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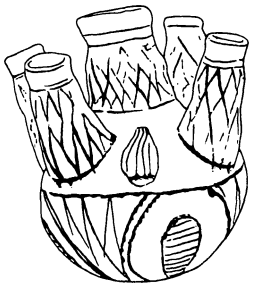

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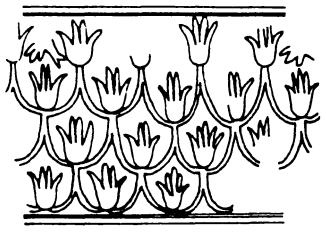

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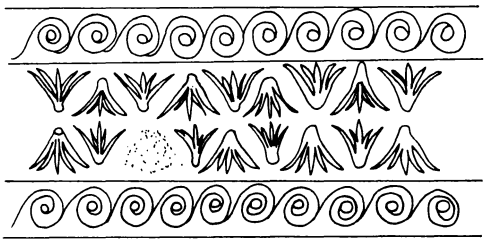

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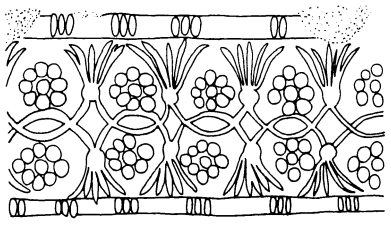

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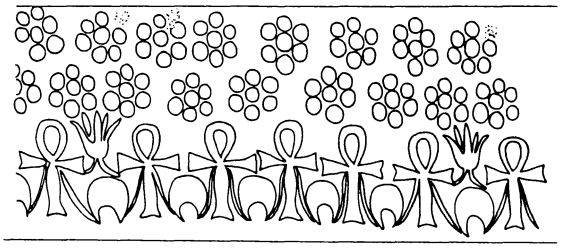

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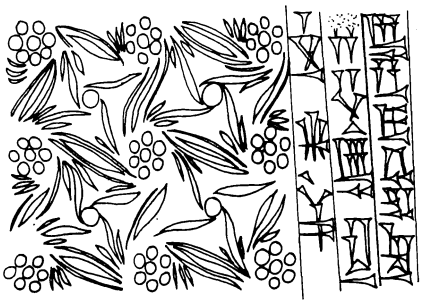

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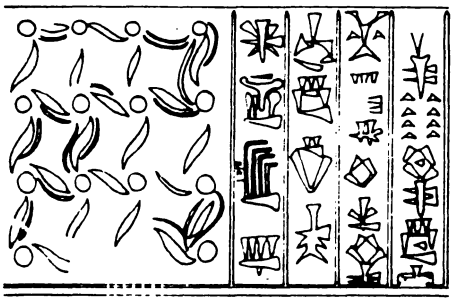


233

Bouquet staves (**143**)

The staves held by the figure on this seal is mixed lotus and papyrus (**143**) (papyrus on Marcopoli 547) and resembles Egyptian New Kingdom bouquet arrangements (Dittmar 1986: Figs. 81, 85 ff.) (**5j**).

Lotus and papyrus as symbols

The floral head or bud of the lotus is found in Levantine contexts with Egyptian and Levantine associations. For example, the Egyptian goddess (**110**), the sphinx (**135**) and the Winged goddess (**216**), are all straightforwardly connected to nature and fertility. The papyrus plant is only found once as a detached, perhaps symbolic offering, in the field (**172**).

(2) Trees and plants with New Kingdom parallels (**223–25** and *passim*)

These types do not resemble naturalistic representations of Egyptian trees or plants, except for **258** which perhaps shows a growing papyrus plant (cf. Moens 1984: 2.2.3: Pl. VIII; see also Yale 1636). Their otherwise stylised and mixed lotus and papyrus forms recall elaborate New Kingdom bouquets and floral arrangements (Davies 1913: 191) (**2p**). The context in which these trees occur is wholly Levantine. With the exception of **223** where the 'bouquet' tree replaces the usual palm, they appear as subsidiary motifs behind a goddess (e.g. **224**) or other figures (**199**, **225**). Much of the context of these seals is missing, but, as at Mari, the 'Egyptianising' tree may have been a complement to the palm, evoking related concepts, but with different emphases, such as femininity. The linking of the palm with the lotus and with other stylised plant forms has already been mentioned.

(3) Decorative motifs (**226–33** and *passim*)

Floral decorative motifs take two principal forms: 1) individual vertical motifs of lotus leaves attached to and drooping from a central stem (e.g. **136**, **226**) and 2) horizontal lotiform garlands or entwined lotuses. These can include other, non-floral, motifs such as the *ankh* (Workshop E). In Egypt, such motifs are found on ovoids and scarabs from the First Intermediate period and onwards (Ward 1978: 53: Pl. VII: e.g. 181–90 (**2q**, **2m**); Tufnell 1984: e.g. Pl. III: nos. 1067, 1084, 1089, 1114). The linked lotiform garlands are a more naturalistic motif, perhaps derived from ceramics. As noted by Collon (1975: 90–1, n. 1; no. 164), the pattern on **228** is close to that of a 'Kamares' ware sherd from Ugarit, yet it also recalls floral decoration on Egyptian glazed ware of the Middle and early New Kingdoms (e.g. Hayes 1953: Fig. 156: (**2s**).

The diagonal quadrilateral motifs with corner lines interlocking around a central dot (**227**, **232**, **233**), and with a rosette at each outer corner on **232**, evoke the quadrilateral and rosette patterns of New Kingdom tomb decoration (Jéquier 1911: Pls. XXII, XXIV, XXXVI). The fluidity of the pattern on **232**, which dates to Period IIB, is not matched in surviving geometric Middle Kingdom tomb or coffin decoration, although some of these may be the antecedents of the New Kingdom patterns (e.g. Lacau 1904: Pls. XVI, XVII, XXVI, XXXIX; Naville 1907: Pls. XXII, XXXIII, left). A foreign, probably Egyptian, origin for the diagonal quadrilateral motif is still the most plausible suggestion, since antecedents exist in early Middle Kingdom scarabs (Ward 1978: 264: Pl. X (**2r**, **5n**)) and possibly Middle Kingdom tomb decoration (cf. e.g. Griffith and Newberry 1892: Pl. V; Griffith 1900: Pl. XXI; but see Collon 1975: nos. 235–7, n. 134–7) but not in early Middle Bronze Age Levantine glyptic. The rosette, on the other hand, is a predominantly Levantine feature and its occurrence in New Kingdom Egyptian decoration may be due partly to Levantine influence.

5.2.16 Animals (heron, lapwing, apes)

The heron (**131**, **134**?)

The heron, distinguished by its long legs and elongated double crest (**5o**) but not by its long beak, may be represented twice. The bird appears in Levantine contexts, but with very different associations. On **131**, he is part of a scene in which a ruler and the Suppliant goddess face each other with the figure of a child, as 'heir' or progeny, between them. An emphasis on birds (vultures, possibly buzzards) is apparent on this seal and it is possible that the heron was represented here in this ordinary aspect. Yet his significance as a symbol of creation, coupled with his association with the child, suggest that he may have been portrayed here in his symbolic role. This interpretation is supported by the similar association of a child and the bird with heron-like crests on **177**. On **134**, the heron? has been integrated, with the sphinx and the lapwing, into a nature scene closely associated with a bull-taming scene. It is impossible to tell whether his symbolic regenerative nature is taken into account here.

The lapwing (**234**, **235** and *passim*)

The contexts in which a bird identified here as a lapwing (**2t**, **5p**) occurs can parallel that of the Horus hawk and Nekhbet vulture, but not as a celestial or a solar symbol. Thus the bird is in the terminal on **195**, **208**, **213**; it (or a hawk) is held by the Pharaoh on **51**, but in an un-Egyptian manner; and on **133** and **134** the lapwing appears with symbolic and ordinary animals, where it is treated as a field animal, with possible apotropaic powers. On **133** and **134**, both from Workshop A, the lapwing is in a passive but not submissive position beside an ordinary field animal. This may be by virtue of its unusual iconography or may be derived from its role in mythology. The lapwing's association with Horus, known from Egyptian sources (Kaplony 1980: 418, n. 23), is further suggested here by the mixed iconography of the bird on **234** and **235**.

Apes (**236** and *passim*)

No attempt is made here to identify the species of monkey (*cercopithecus*) and possibly baboon (**136**) represented in this corpus. Monkeys and baboons were not native to Phoenicia and Syria, and are far more likely to have come from Egypt at this period than from the east through Mesopotamia (Dunham 1985: 239) (**2u**, **5e**, **5q**).

As with the iconography, the contexts in which the monkeys occur are primarily un-Egyptian, although there are exceptions. The monkeys and 'jerboa' appear in two principal contexts: 1) with deities and rulers, and 2) with other animals and symbols. They are normally placed in the lower and middle field, and only rarely in the upper field.

With deities, rulers and miscellaneous figures (e.g. **9**, **23**, **56**, **60**, **76**, **84**, **87**, **104**, **114**, **183**, **218**, **220**, **241**, **246**)
The monkeys appear beside a number of deities such as the Suppliant goddess (e.g. **84**), deified rulers (**241**), a demon (**258**), a hero (**136**) and varied rulers (see also Marcopoli: nos. 438, 441, 490), including the Pharaoh (e.g. **56**), in contexts that are not Egyptian.[18] The monkeys generally face, but sometimes closely follow (e.g. **56**, **218**) the figure with which they are interacting. Their raised front paw sometimes almost touches the figure. On **220**, the monkey is closely associated with a cartouche. Again, this association is not Egyptian.

With animals and symbols (e.g. **71**, **135**, **136**, **143**, **170**, **236**, **258**)

Egyptianising (**143**, **170**, **236**)
The motif of the 'jerboas' worshipping a solar symbol (**143**) (**2d**) has been discussed on p. 92. The pair of 'jerboas' in the upper field beside the Horus hawk on **170** is a related image. On **236**, the monkeys appear in a smiting stance on either side of a tree; this iconography recalls Egyptian representations (Vandier 1966b: Fig. 47) (**2u**).

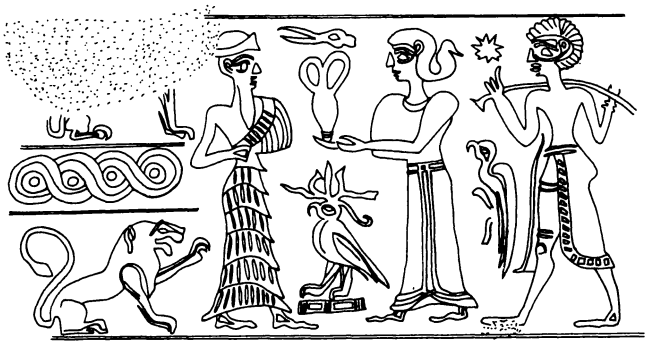
Levantine
The monkey appears loosely placed in the field (e.g. **135**, **136**, **258**). This context is un-Egyptian and look back to Anatolian and Syro-Cappadocian iconography.

Summary: The symbolism[19] and iconography of the monkey and 'jerboa' on Levantine seals have few Egyptian overtones. These are confined to specific motifs, such as solar worship, and attitudes (e.g. standing, smiting). The latter are mostly characteristic of Group C seals (e.g. **218**, **236**).

18 For this association in Cappadocia see e.g. Özgüç 1965: Anatolian style: Pls. III: 10; V: 13; XVIII: 55; in the Syro-Cappadocian style: Marcopoli: e.g. nos. 420, 422, 423, 426. For a discussion of the monkey on Old Babylonian seals, see Collon 1986: 45–6.

19 The role of the monkey in entertainment and as a fertility and prestige symbol in Mesopotamia has been discussed by Dunham (1985).

2t



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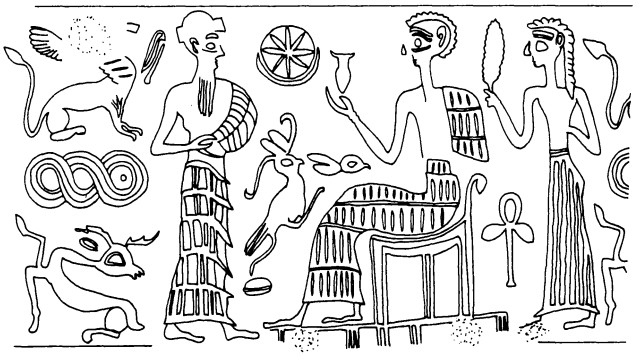
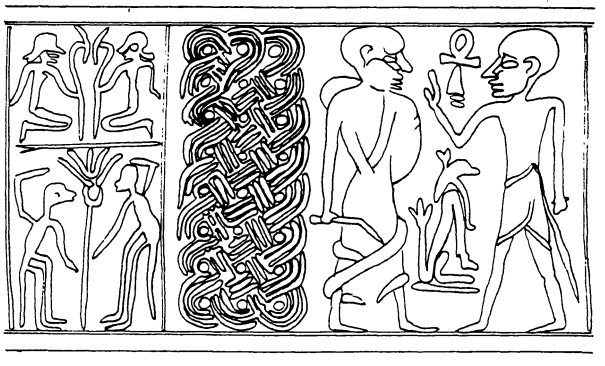


235

2u



236

2v

237

5.3 MISCELLANEOUS EGYPTIANISING FIGURES

Kneeling males (**237** and *passim*)

The consecutive kneeling Egyptianising males on **31** and **237** recall the rows of officiants, attendants and guests of Egyptian ritual ceremonies and banquets, a convention that dates back to the Old Kingdom (Vandier 1964: 14: Figs. 30, 90, 91, 153). The figures holding the lotus on **237** are particularly reminiscent of figures from banquet scenes (N. de G. Davies 1915: Pl. IIIB) or of kneeling figures depicted on funerary stelae (**1l**). I have found no parallel for the combined iconography of a mace held at the chest while holding a papyrus staff (**31**). The Egyptianising context of **31** has already been discussed. Seal **238** consists of a row of juxtaposed Egyptianising and Levantine figures. The kneeling males holding staves (**236**) are paralleled on XIIIth Dynasty–IInd Intermediate period scarabs from Palestine (Tufnell 1984: e.g. Pls. XLVI, nos. 2809–14 (**2v**), 2815; (staves)). The opposing figures on **236** are a duplicated single motif found on such scarabs (Tufnell 1984: Pl. XLVI, nos. 2809, 2815).

Kneeling females (**15, 37, 86**)

The attitude of the two kneeling females in Egyptian wigs on **37** is straightforwardly paralleled in Egyptian scenes of worship e.g. Faulkner 1985: 34, Spell 125; 53, Spell 30). The context of this seal is Levantine, and the figures focus their attention on the Nude goddess. The attitude of the kneeling figure on **86** may be related (cf. also **5r**). The attitude of the female in the terminal on **15**, who wears an appparent white crown with her arms drawn back, evokes naturalistic, Amarna-period, scenes of attendants and worshippers (N. de G. Davies 1908: Pls. IV, XVII, XVIII, XX) but cannot be closely paralleled. The overall context of the scene is Egyptianising although the figure's immediate association is an antelope.

Standing males in kilts (**238** and *passim*)

A number of uncrowned figures in pointed (e.g. **238**), straight and folded kilts (**61, 71, 217, 221, 236**), some of whom hold plants, staves or sceptres are best paralleled by secular figures in Egyptian funerary art (Vandier 1964: Fig. 20, e.g. 71, 72–5; Stewart 1979: Pl. 26: 1; (**2w**)) and on XIIIth Dynasty–IInd Intermediate Period scarabs from Palestine (**2x**) (Tufnell 1984: Pl. XLII: e.g. nos. 2695, 2708; Pl. XLIII: nos. 2740, 2748, 2749). These figure are not to be confused with representations of the Pharaoh without a crown (e.g. **10, 80**).

Offering bearers (**239**)

The stance and arm positions of the attendants following the Levantine ruler on **239** evoke those of secular offering-or goods-bearers from both Middle and New Kingdom iconography (Naville 1907: Pl. XX (Middle Kingdom): (**2y**); N. de G. Davies 1926: Pl. XIX; 1933: Pl. IV).

5.4 SYRO-LEVANTINE FIGURES WITH EGYPTIANISING CHARACTERISTICS

Attributes

These figures all appear in Levantine contexts and wear both genuine and spurious Egyptianising dress (crowns, uraei, wigs (**240–5** and *passim*).

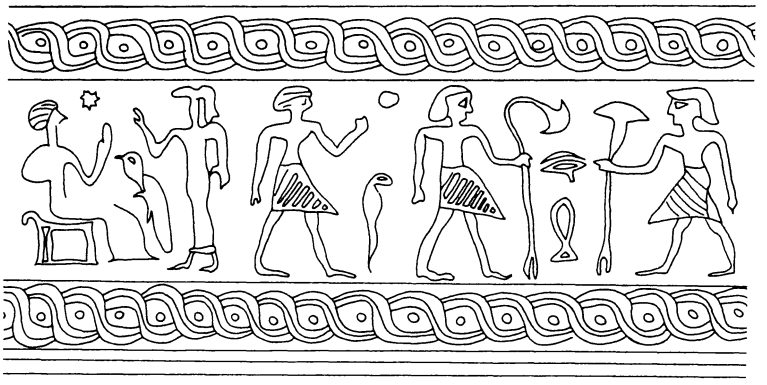
Deities and hero

On **240**, two figures in Levantine dress wear Egyptianising wigs, and a Hathor crown (the figure on the left) and a spurious uraeus (the figure on the right). Other details of this seal, such as the cartouche, the *djed*, and the *ankh*, indicate the deliberate Egyptianisation of this scene. The scene merely evokes the theme of rulers and deities: the two standing figures are not 'canonical' nor intelligible in the context of Syro-Levantine glyptic iconography so far encountered. The figure with the uraeus may have been intended to represent a ruler.

The link between originally Levantine and Mesopotamian fertility figures and their counterparts in Egypt is demonstrated by the ram's head and Hathor crowns adopted by the Nude goddess on **41** and the water hero on **242**. The horizontal horns of the divinised ruler's crown on **241** are a secondary addition, emulating the *atef*. The wearing of Egyptianising crowns by these deities is ambiguous.

2w

2x



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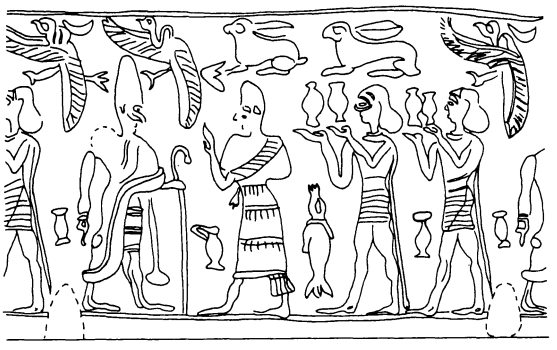
2y



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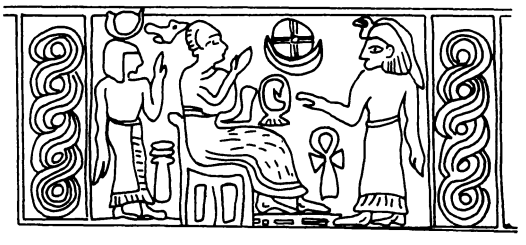

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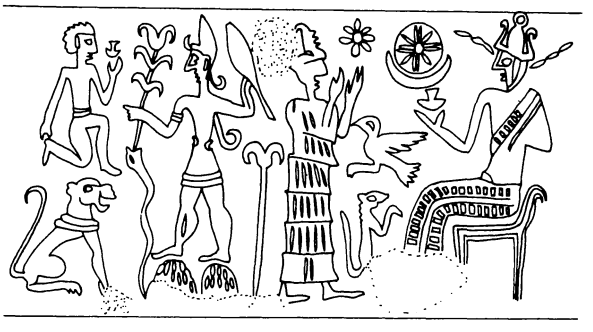

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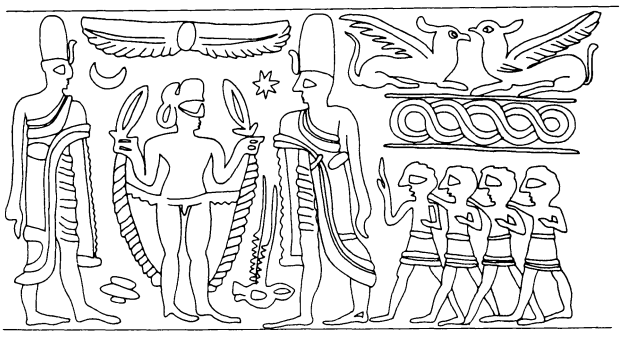

243

Rulers
The uraeus seems to be emulated by the frontal attachment on the rulers' head-dresses on **243** (cf. **240**). It can be distinguished from other animal-headed attachments to Syrian rulers' head-dresses (cf. e.g. **83**). The back panel of the enthroned ruler's peaked cap on already mentioned **110** may be an attempt to emulate the double crown. The resemblance between the high, oval head-dress of west Syrian rulers and the pharaonic white crown is superficial: the white crown is not oval in shape but has an indentation at the tip.

Secular
The females on **244**, **245**, **260** wear Egyptianising wigs. The reason for this Egyptianising feature on **244** is unclear. Seals **245** and **260**, however, come from Workshop B which is characterised by Egyptianising 'mannerism'.

Miscellaneous attributes: the *ankh,* the 'cord', the adze (see under The *ankh* and other symbols); the *was*? (**149**); floral staves and flowers (see under Floral and decorative motifs)

Shrine (**246**)
The shrine within which the deified ruler sits on **246** evokes the form of Egyptian carry-chairs, baldachins, the jubilee pavilion and shrines on boats, although the covering in the Egyptian examples is slanted, whereas here it is convex (Vandier 1964: Figs. 163, 164 (**2z**); Vandersleyen 1975: Figs. 278a,b; David 1981: 94, UR 3). The papyriform columns are characteristically Egyptian. The shrine is supported by a row of four diminutive figures whose heads and raised forearms are visible. This also recalls the image of the rows of Egyptian figures supporting the carry-chair or the sets of royal or semi-divine figures carrying thrones on bark stands (Baines 1975: 2.4.2). It is a different motif from other diminutive figures in Levantine throne supports (cf. e.g. Marcopoli: no. 504).

Attitudes

Smiting (**247–50** and *passim*)
The raised smiting arm of the figures discussed here is derived from the Egyptian motif of the smiting Pharaoh (Collon 1972: 128) (**1h**) (cf. **24**). In the Levant it was adopted principally by the Weather god (e.g. **9**, **41**, **42**, **105**), Reshef (Marcopoli no. 480) and by rulers (**247–50**). It is also seen sporadically on miscellaneous deities and combatants (Beran 1964: Pl. 8: 1 (deity?)). The adoption of this iconography for deities in Syria may have been through Anatolian influence rather than directly from Egypt. It is characteristic of a number of deities depicted on the Anatolian group of seal impressions from Cappadocia (Kültepe *kārum* II), but is rare on Syro-Cappadocian glyptic (cf. Anatolia: Özgüç 1965: e.g. 4: Pls. I; 8: III; 52: XVII; 69: XXIII; Syro-Cappadocian: Özgüç 1940: no.649; Marcopoli: no. 426). The motif with rulers, which includes a vanquished enemy, shows the influence of both Mesopotamian and Egyptian conquering iconography. The first attestation of this attitude for a ruler outside Egypt is on glyptic from Sippar dated to the mid-nineteenth century BC (Collon 1986: 165–6). The motif of the conquered enemy never became a standard royal device in Syro-Levantine iconography. It rarely appears on official seals (but see Aplihanda seal **247**) and is principally characteristic of divine iconography.

Rituals (**251–5**)
The motifs on **251–5** are all derived from Egyptian cult scenes.

1) Offering the *ankh*: **251–3** (**1g**, **3a**) discussed in Chapter 3 and under *ankh.*

2) Purification: **210** (**1b**, **1c**) discussed under *ankh*.

3) Embracing: (**3b**). On **254** and **255** the ruler embraces the Nude goddess in an attitude derived from Egyptian embraces between the Pharaoh and various deities. On Levantine glyptic, this attitude was used between rulers and the Nude goddess as here, although it is also sporadically found with other figures.[20] Unlike Egyptian embraces, where the figures are close to each other (**3b**) the figures on Levantine seals are far apart, with rigid and symmetrical arms. This was a local development.

20 For example, two diminutive figures embracing on Delaporte 1923: A. 932.

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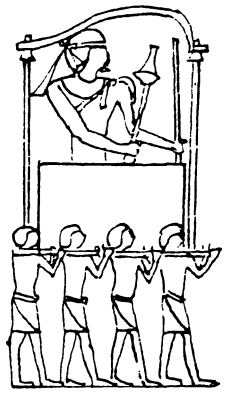
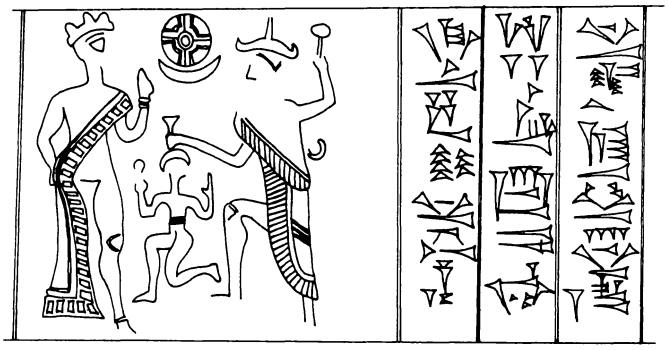


2z

246



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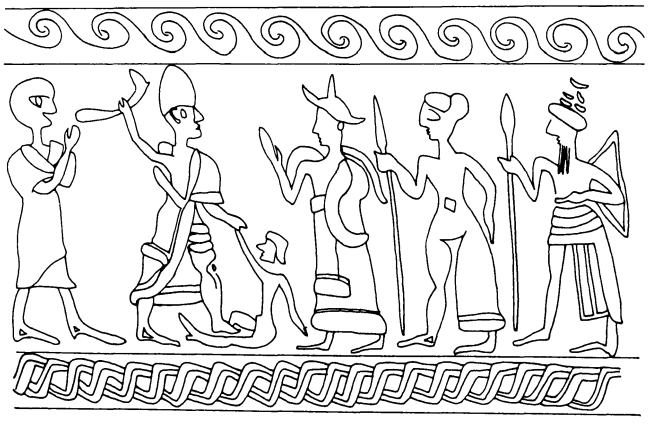

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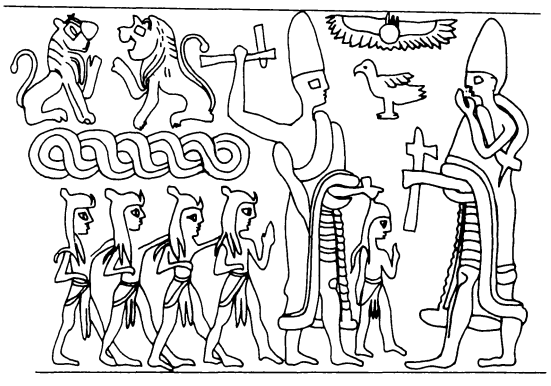

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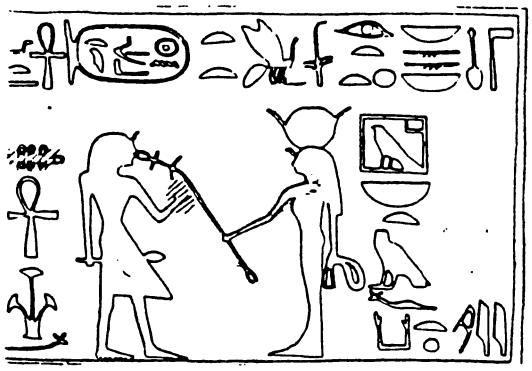
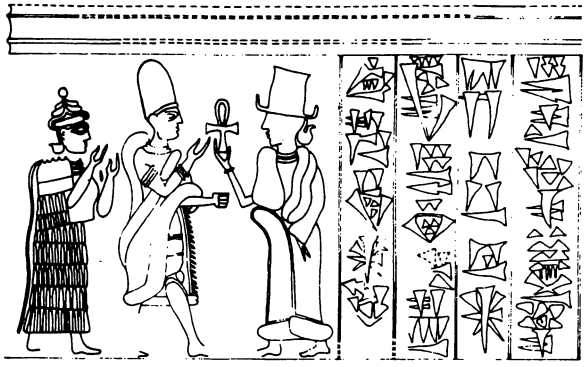


3a

251



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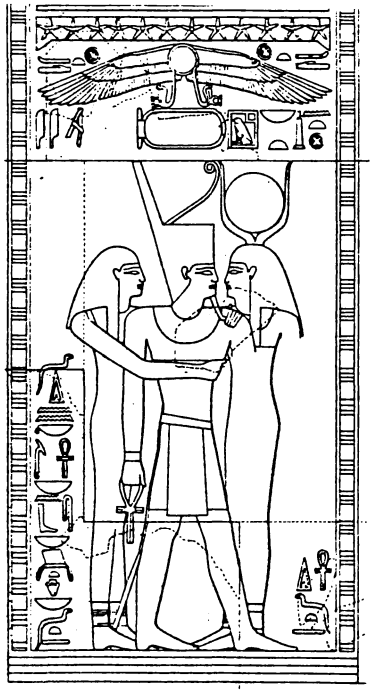
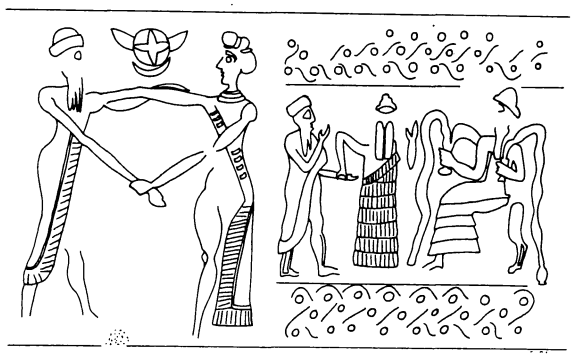


3b



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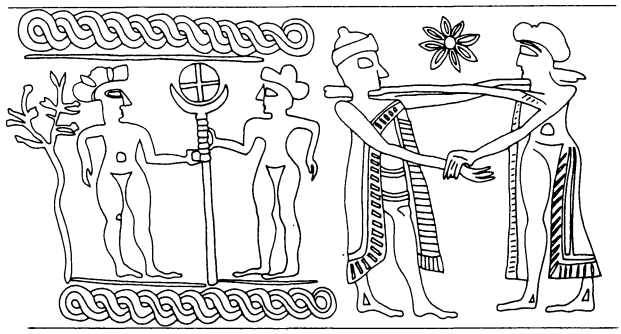


255

5.5 IMAGINARY FIGURES WITH EGYPTIANISING CHARACTERISTICS (**256–68** and *passim*)

Hawk-headed figures and other demons (**3**, **57**, **92**, **179**, **256–61**)

These figures occur occasionally in scenes with rulers (**3**, **57**) or with deities (**92**), but in the majority of cases they occur in varied contexts with other imaginary beings or figures from 'nature mythology'. The iconography and role of these figures within this 'mythology' is varied and inter-linked. The wingless figures may relate directly to the Hawk-headed deity with characteristics of Horus the royal god (**73**, **74**) but they are given 'nature mythology' attributes such as a plant head-dress or a staff (**92**, **260**). These are attributes shared by Hawk-headed figures on Middle Bronze Age scarabs from Palestine (Tufnell 1984: Pl. XXXVII: nos. 2532 (**1m**), 2534, 2537–40). The hawk figure also shares aspects of the griffin's persona, such as the Hathor crown (cf. **259** and **163**, **164**). Equally, the winged demons, which appear to be griffins on **257** and **358**, share attributes with the hawks (e.g. an *atef*-like crown: **57**). The role of the figures on the majority of these seals is varied within general 'nature mythology' contexts but on **257**, the griffin-demon has been given a special persona with snake and fish attributes. This is probably an example of the depiction of a specific mythological type (see Chapter 4, n. 21).

The use of Egyptianising crowns (e.g. **256**, **258**) on griffin-demons in particular seems to have been an iconographical device to add exoticism or mystery to their personae.

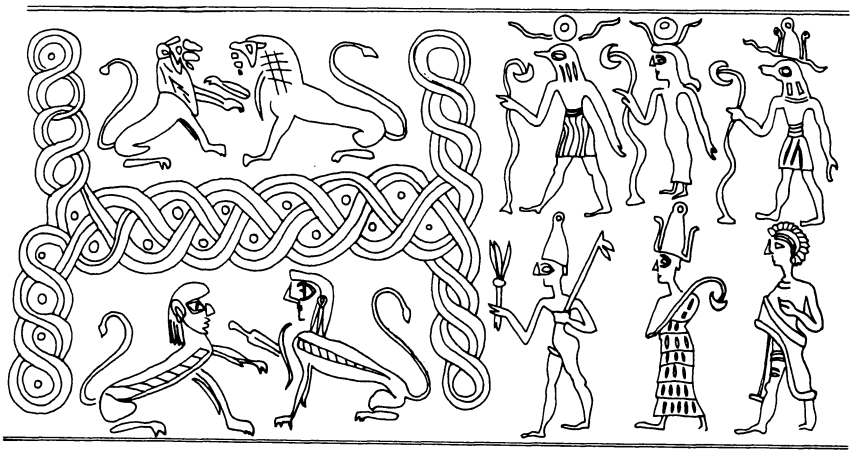
The ram-headed demon (**261**)

The role of the ram-headed demon as a fertility figure, demonstrated by his association with the Nude goddess (**261**) and the Egyptian goddess and youth on **106** refers directly to Khnum.

Figures with Egyptianising wings (**262–8** and *passim*)

The wings of the figures on **262–8** may have been inspired by the iconography of Isis and Nephtys (**1i**) (cf. **27**). A link with Egyptian iconography is clearly shown by the figure on **262**, who wears an uraeus and by seals from Workshop B (**263**, **265**) which is characterised by Egyptianising mannerism. However such wings quickly became a feature of Syrian iconography as demonstrated by these and other seals (e.g. Beyer 1984: 256; Fig. 1 an impression from Mari).

The significance of the three guarded superimposed heads on **263** is obscure. Single or multiple heads frequently occur in scenes from 'nature mythology' (e.g. with the Nude goddess, winged demons, antelopes' and bulls' heads). This motif can be traced back to the Anatolian group of impressions from Kültepe and to Syro-Cappadocian glyptic (e.g. Özgüç 1965: 4: Pl. XII; 68: XXIII; Marcopoli: nos. 415, 417, 428). The contexts in which these figures appear are otherwise already familiar. The figures on **265** appear in a general scene with other imaginary beings, while on **266–8**, the protection of the palm and the palm with solar disc and crescent is the central theme.



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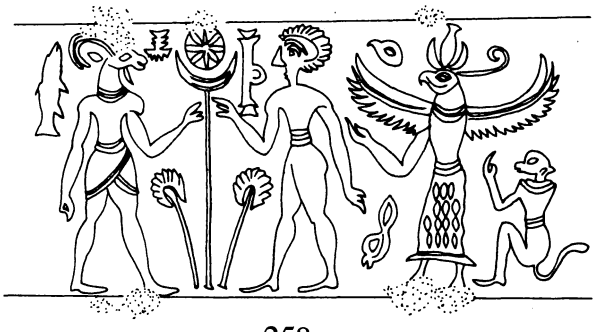

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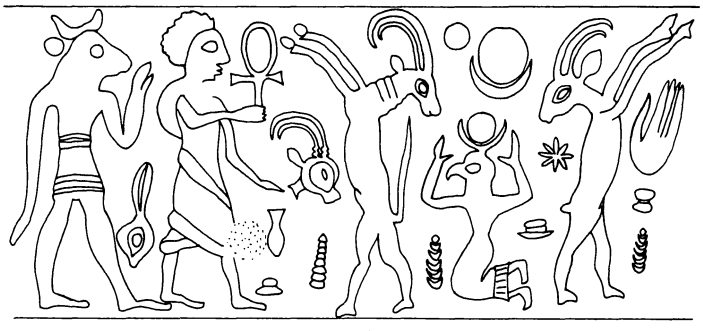

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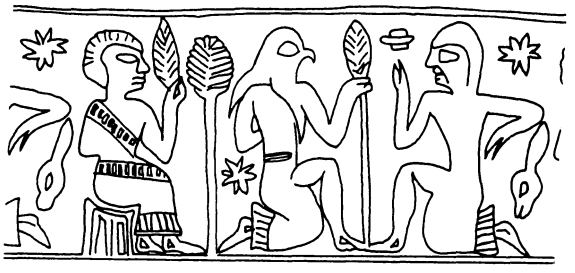

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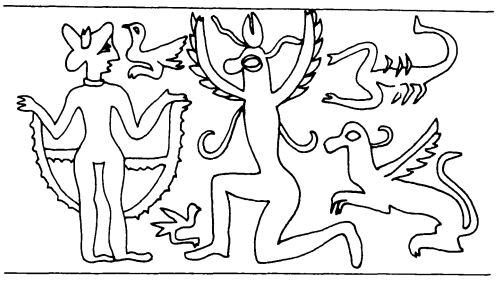

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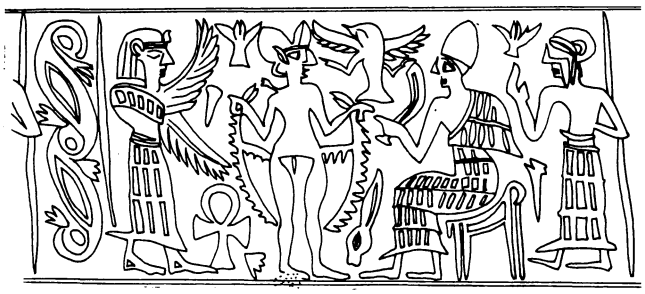

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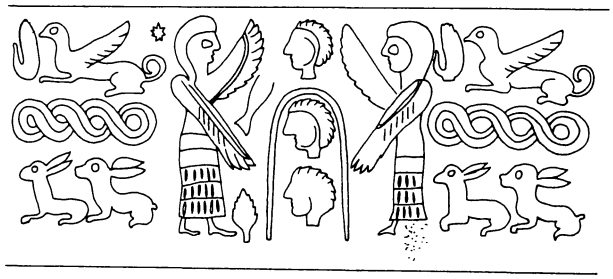

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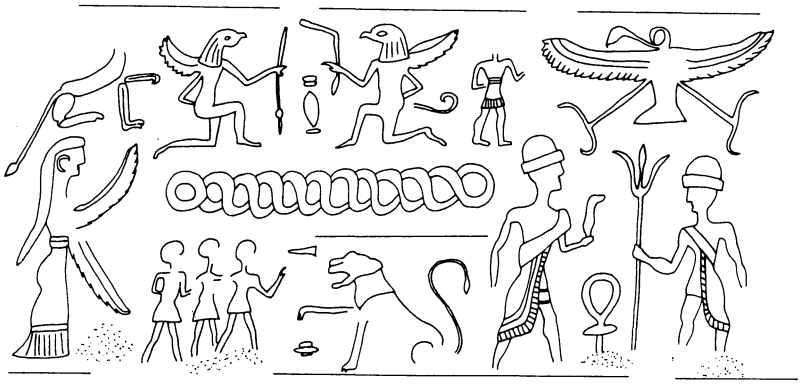

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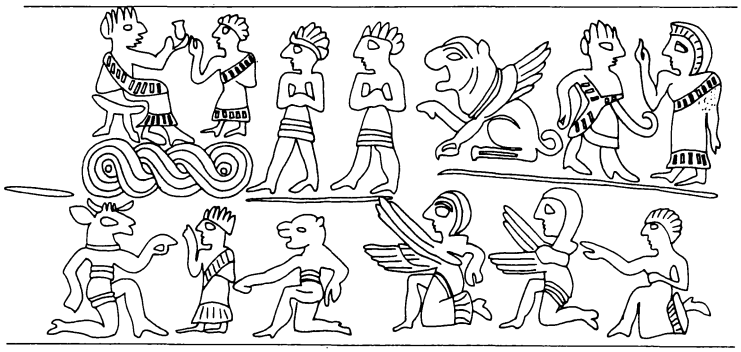

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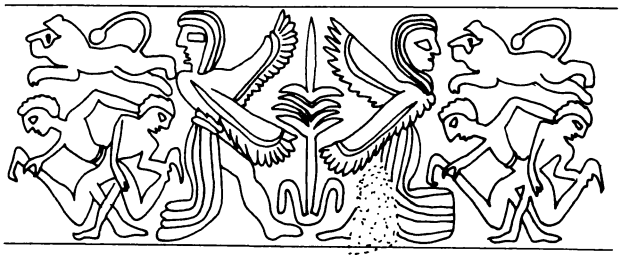

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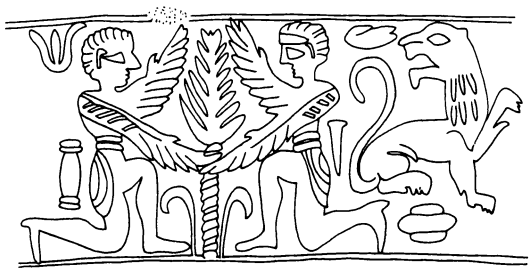

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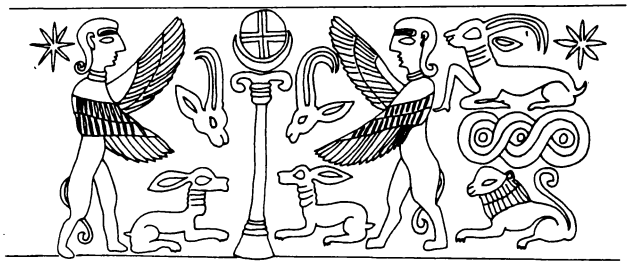

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6 THE TYPOLOGY OF EGYPTIAN AND EGYPTIANISING ICONOGRAPHY

6.1 EGYPTIAN FIGURES, SYMBOLS AND MOTIFS IN SYRO-LEVANTINE CONTEXTS

6.1.1 The Pharaoh (**1a–c, 3r, 1f–h, 1o**)

Crowns (**3c–i**)

The Pharaoh's most common head-dress is the *atef* or type of *atef* crown (**3h**) followed by the double crown (**3e**) (e.g. **25**, **31**, **34**, **35**, **37**). The white (**3c**) (**23**, **60**), the red (**3d**) (**25**), the triple (**3g**) (**57**) and head-cloths (*nemes, afnet*) with or without uraei (e.g. **4**, **10**, **19**, **43**, **80**) are rarer. The *atef* crown is the most subject to schematisation (e.g. **1**, **14**, **41**) or elaboration (e.g. **22**), but essentially it is faithful to the basic components of the Egyptian crown: two feathers either side of a centre piece resembling the white crown, or a bundle of tied rushes, sometimes topped by a sun disc, and usually placed on ram's horns. On **49** and **51**, for example, the crown is close to the Egyptian type. The double crown is again often close to the Egyptian model but can also be schematised in order to resemble double plumes (e.g. **65**). On **17** the red (?) crown is presented as a high, ribbed head-dress with a frontal projection. On **57**, the essential components of the crown are reduced to linear strokes. The overall shape of this crown, with side uraei on the ram's horns, evokes the triple crown, although no sun discs are shown. This crown became standard in the New Kingdom (Abubakr 1937: 63–5; Strauss 1980: 137), and it is unfortunate that the crown on this Period IIB seal should be so schematically rendered. On **59**, the Pharaoh wears a ram's horns and disc head-dress. This is a solar crown and is not characteristic of the Pharaoh even in representations of him as a deity (Radwan 1985: Figs. 1–25; Habachi 1963: Fig. 7). On **7**, the Pharaoh wears a horizontally ribbed head-dress; all that remains of the possible *atef* prototype is the conical shape of the central part.

The Pharaoh is represented only twice with a beard (**Al. 152**, **56**). Only in the case of **Al. 152** is the beard comparable to the Egyptian one. On **56**, the beard has been lengthened and made to look natural in a Syro-Mesopotamian fashion.

Dress

The collars worn by the Pharaoh correspond to the Egyptian broad collar (*usekh*) although no details are shown save an indication of one or two strands (e.g. **Al. 143**, **38**). The Pharaoh is almost invariably dressed in one of a variety of short kilts, with and without the lion or panther tail, and aprons. The most common is the kilt with a stiff frontward projection, which looks triangular in profile. This projection can be clearly outlined with converging lines, juxtaposed with vertical or diagonal lines (**15**, **23**, **52**) or merely indicated by a sharp point. The kilt can also be schematically rendered, with irregular diagonal or horizontal lines (e.g. **6**, **Al. 141**), or be ill- proportioned (e.g. **45**). Kilts can be fringed (e.g. **28**, **50**). Others are close-fitting and pleated with a panel falling between the legs (e.g. **46**) or horizontally pleated (e.g. **25**, **57**). Aprons can be decorated with uraei (**28**), have diagonal (**19**), vertical (**56**) or triangular panels (**49**). The tied loops of the kilts' waistbands are noticeable on e.g. **11**, **28** and **Al. 142**. Breast-bands or a corselet are shown on **57**. The Pharaoh can also be dressed in a non-Egyptian manner: on **21**, **35** and **40** he wears long skirts, on **33** he is naked except for belts worn by heroes in Syro-Mesopotamian iconography and on **38**, **41**, **48** he wears kilts that are worn by the Weather god (cf. **41**) or Reshef (Pritchard 1954: 476). The tassels on **48** are a particularly distinguishing Levantine feature (N. de G. Davies 1926: Pl. XIX; Vandier 1964: Fig. 326).

Staves and attributes (**3j–q**)

The Pharaoh's hand-held attributes are both Egyptianising and non-Egyptianising. The former, more than any other aspect of his iconography, are reminiscent rather than true representations of the corresponding Egyptian attribute. The most frequently held attribute are a *was* sceptre (e.g. **22**) or a type of sceptre which has a straight shaft and a tip that looks like a cross between a *was* and a lotus leaf (e.g. **11**, **28**), and a lotus plant (leaf or flower e.g. **12**, **29**, **52**). The *was* is not forked in the Egyptian manner, and the *was*/lotus staff is often held pointing inwards like a flower as (e.g. **28**, **29**) opposed to outwards, as staves normally are in Egypt. Other attributes held by the Pharaoh in Egypt, but inconsistently rendered here are: the *ḥqꜣt* (e.g. **48**, **49**) or *ḫpš* (e.g. **57**) sceptres, with variously curving ends; the *sḫm* (**50**); a long staff (e.g. **1**); flails (e.g. **15**, **41**); the mace (e.g. **24**); the *ankh* (e.g.

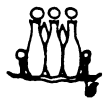
The Pharaoh


3c


3d


3e


3f


3g


3h


3i


3j

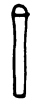

3k


3l


3m


3n


3o


3p


3q

IIA


3r


34


38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41


56


67

IIB


Al. 137


46


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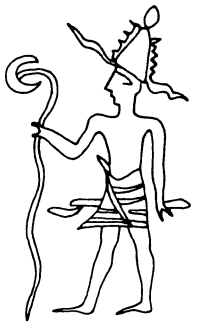
12


20


52


45


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8


Al. 141


14


1


44


53


48


57


Al. 143


31


37

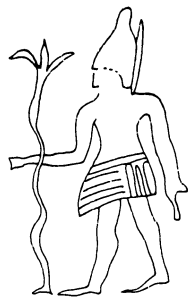
IIB


35


Al. 152


32


17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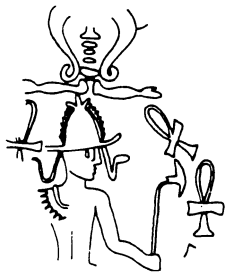
16


10


80


Al. 142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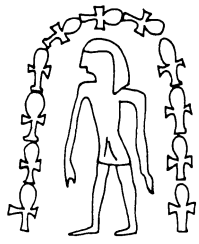
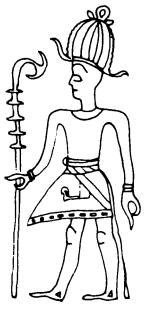

4


43

III


28


15


59


30


3

11). In Egypt, the *ankh* is rarely held by the Pharaoh (Fischer 1974; Baines 1974: 48). The *tjet*, an attribute of Isis (Fischer 1974) or perhaps the *sistrum,* an attribute of Hathor, are not usually held by the Pharaoh in Egypt, but seem to be held by him on **9**, **47**, **63**. Non-Egyptian attributes are curved and palm staves (e.g **14**, **45**, **65**), straight and trident spears (e.g. **44**, **67**), an angular scimitar (**39**, **40**) and the snake (**67**). Both the manner and the hand in which these attributes are held also vary considerably from the Egyptian norm. In Egypt, the Pharaoh's hand-held attributes vary according to the context. In standard representations, he holds either a crook and sometimes a mace or a flail in his lowered hand, and a staff, a weapon or an offering in his raised hand. The flail, scimitar or crook can also be held aloft (e.g. **66**), or over the shoulder. He would never hold a flail in each hand as on **15**, or a bird and a *sḫm* as on **50**, for example or a lotus and a sceptre as on **26**. Two Pharaohs holding a lotus staff between them as on **25** is again not Egyptian.

Postures

Standing
The Pharaoh is most often represented standing, facing either to the right or to the left, in an emulation of the Egyptian neutral stance (**3r**). The position of his arms in this and other postures, discussed below, are frequently adaptations or approximations of the Egyptian conventions. Thus the arm can be too close to the body when holding a staff (e.g. **11**), or held at right angles (e.g. **14**). On **64**, the arms of the Pharaoh on the right are raised in a worshipping gesture, but the left arm has been awkwardly placed under the right: this happens in Egypt when right-facing figures are reversed. On **25**, the Pharaohs' staves, held in their bent arms, are placed behind their backs so that the lines of the staves do not cut across their bodies. On **2** and **4**, for example, the Pharaoh stands with both arms by his side, holding no attributes. This is a conventional Egyptian royal attitude when standing between or before deities (Lacau and Chevrier 1969: 1, 2; Pl. 27: Lepsius 1849: 124d). The state of the impression of **Al. 152** was apparently too poor to be able to assess whether the Pharaoh may originally have worn a kilt with a dagger at the belt or whether he was naked and ithyphallic (Collon 1975: 83). In its present form, the reconstruction is not Egyptian.

Embracing
On **24**, the Pharaoh is embraced while passive, and on **6–8** he participates in the embrace. The former posture is close to Egyptian examples (**3b**). The latter, although derived from Egyptian embraces, has been schematised: the arms are symmetrical and rigid, and the distance between the figures is un-Egyptian. On **9**, the Pharaoh and the Egyptian goddess hold hands: this is also a genuine Egyptian attitude (**1g**).

Smiting
The Pharaoh's stance on **24** is the canonical Egyptian one (**1h**) although his back foot rests on the ground in an Old Kingdom rather than a Middle or New Kingdom stance.

Adapted Postures
The paired Pharaoh has been discussed on p. 55.

Holding a bird
On **49–51** the Pharaoh holds a bird in his raised hand. Although the bird may correspond to an Egyptian type, such as the lapwing (**51**), the stance of the Pharaoh in these scenes is not Egyptian. Both in the Jubilee festival ritual where the Pharaoh presents a bird to a deity and in fowling scenes the Pharaoh is represented in a running stance (Chassinat 1935: Pl. CLXIX; David 1981: 21, URA). The Pharaoh can also be shown holding a bird in his lowered hand (David 1981: 37, LR2; 38, URA), but this again is a different convention. The pose on **49–51** is closer to mortuary representations of commoners offering a bird to a deity (cf. e.g. British Museum stela A 28). The origin of this motif need not be Egyptian, for it is also found in the repertoire of the Anatolian seal impressions from Kültepe (Özgüç 1965: Pl. XXII nos. 65–6).

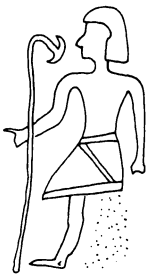
Standing on one leg
A standing posture, which is Egyptian but not royal, is represented incorrectly on **8** and **63**. Figures standing with one leg bent at the knee and resting on a staff are characteristic of funerary iconography of commoners (e.g. Wreszinski 1936: Pl. 69; Lange and Schäfer 1902: 341, Pl. LXXVIII). On **63**, the figures' legs are raised too high, almost in an Egyptian dancing posture (e.g. Vandier 1964: 1–3: Figs. 221, 224b, 225).

III

61

62

60



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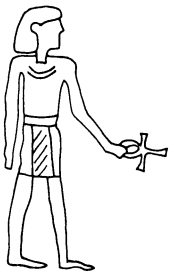

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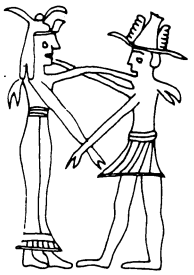
IIB



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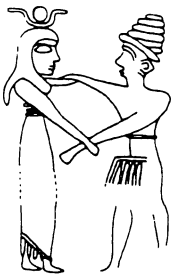

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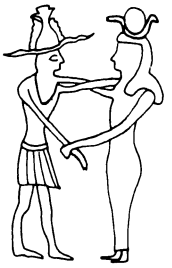

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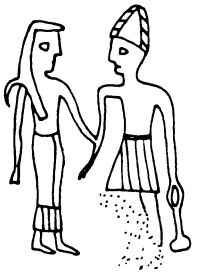
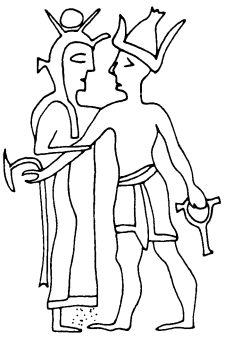


9

III



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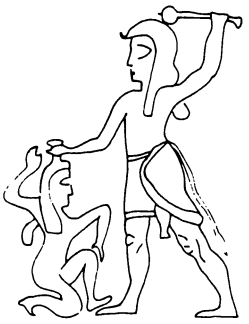

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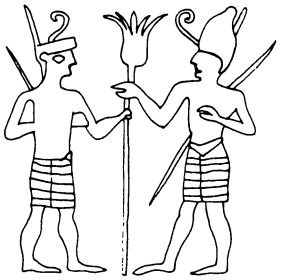

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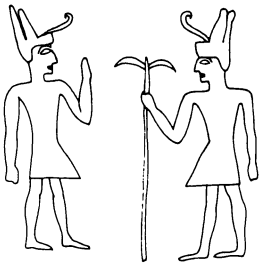

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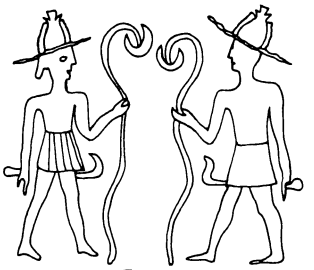

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IIB

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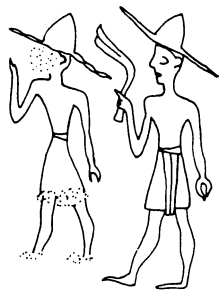

66

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64

49

50

51

33

42

IIA

36

Kneeling
In Egyptian iconography, the Pharaoh kneels in adoration before shrines or deities (David 1981: 70–1: 28, 29, 32 etc.), but he does not kneel with one knee at right angles as on **33** and **42**. This can be an Egyptian attitude (cf. **31**) (e.g. Vandier 1954: Figs. 373, 430), but is also characteristic of Syrian iconography (cf. **214**). The Pharaoh's arm gestures here are not Egyptian.

Seated
On **36** the Pharaoh is seated holding a cup in a manner that has been wholly Levantinised.

6.1.2 Egyptian gods

Horus (**2**, **3**, **30**, **68–72**) (**1c**, **1j**, **3s**)

Crowns

Horus is most often shown in the double crown and wig, and on **2**, **3**, **30**, in just a wig. The crowns all show the basic features of the Egyptian type, but vary in style and detail. On **70**, the crown is awkwardly angled on the god's head and the whole ill-proportioned.

Dress

A broad collar is visible on the god only on **2**. Horus wears a selection of mostly straight kilts, some with aprons (e.g. **2**, **72**), which largely correspond to Egyptian types, except for the animal tail. This is clearly visible only on **70**. On **70**, the kilt projects forward. On **30**, the kilt is folded in an un-Egyptian manner.

Attributes

Horus holds few attributes. With the exception of **70**, these are characteristic of his Egyptian iconography: the *ankh* (**70**), the *was* sceptre (**72**), but only the former is properly depicted. In Egypt, deities almost invariably hold an *ankh* in their lowered hand: these are conspicuous by their absence on these seals. On **70**, the god's sceptre is not recognisable as an Egyptian or a Syrian type. The offering on **71**, a lotus leaf as opposed to a lotus flower, is un-Egyptian.

Postures

Standing
Horus invariably stands, neutrally holding a staff or symbol (e.g. **72**) or actively with an arm half or fully raised (e.g. **68**). These postures are derived from Egyptian ones, the latter being characteristic of Horus in rituals. Here the god's arm is raised at an un-Egyptian angle (e.g. **2**, **68**). On **71**, he stands holding a lotus and raising his hand in a traditional gesture when offering.

Binding (**30**)
The stance on the Period III **30** is derived from representations of Horus and Seth, or Thoth, binding the papyrus of Upper and Lower Egypt (Middle Kingdom: Lange and Hirmer 1967: Pls. 85, 86) (**1j**). The hand positions are Egyptian but the legs are too close together.

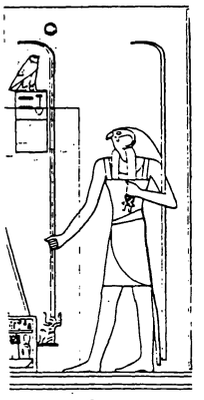
Hawk-headed deities with characteristics of Horus the royal god (**60**, **62**, **73–5**)

On **60**, the god wears what may be a very schematic double crown, or alternatively a plume, as on **62** and **73** (left) with another head piece. On **74**, he wears either a horned head-dress or a type of uraeus. On **73–5** he is naked.

Re-Harakhte (**1**)

The god's crown is shown with an unusually large and prominent uraeus. The latter is not characteristic of surviving Middle Kingdom representations of the god (Lepsius 1849/II: Pl. 119) but occurs in the New Kingdom (**3t**).

Egyptian gods



3s

IIB

2

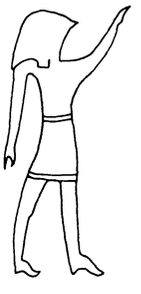
68

69

70

71

III



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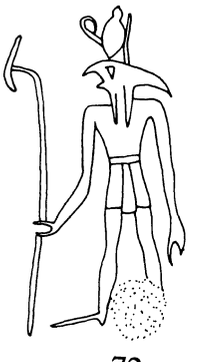


72

30

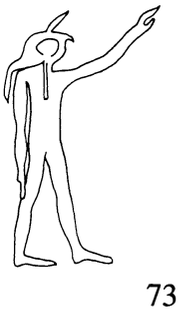
IIA

74

III

60

62



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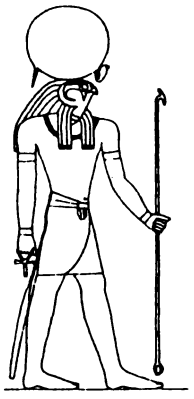

3t

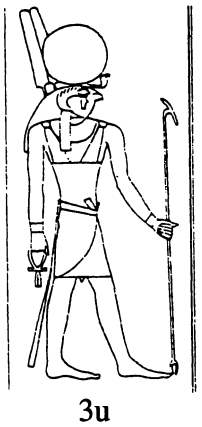
IIB


1


5

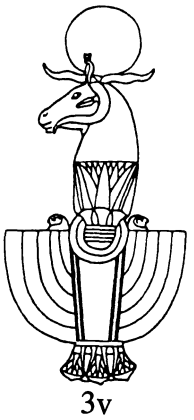
IIA


76


3u

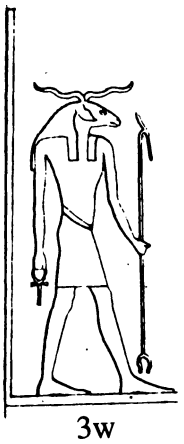
IIA- IIB


77


3v

IIB


1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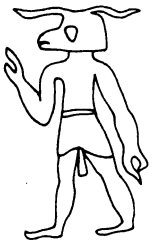
IIA


78

IIA-IIB


77

IIB


4

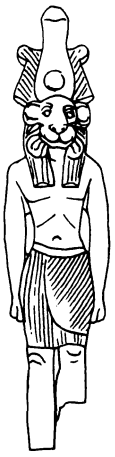

3x

IIB


5

III


236


3y

IIB


5

The Hawk in the ram's horns and solar disc head-dress (**5**)

The wigged and crowned deity stands in a folded kilt, holding an antelope in one hand and a circular object or weapon against his chest. Neither attribute is recognisably Egyptian, although the deity's stance is.

The hawk-headed deity in the atef-like crown (**76**)

Besides his crown, which may be derived from the *atef* without horns, the god wears a long, stylised wig and a kilt with a frontal projection. He stands in a stylised Egyptianising pose. His left hand is projecting forwards, almost in an offering gesture. This iconography does not allow for a definite identification with an Egyptian god (see Sokar in Appendix A however).

Montu (**77**) (**1a**, **1o**, **3u**)

The deity's distinguishing solar and plume crown is clear on the impression, although the disc of the head-dress is small compared to Egyptian examples and there are no traces of uraei. These may now be invisible, because of the faintness of the seal impression. His straight kilt, animal tail and *was* sceptre are correctly Egyptian. His stance with a raised right hand is the protective one adopted by Egyptian deities when standing behind other deities or the Pharaoh, although an *ankh* is normally held in the other hand. Here the deity is placed too far behind the central figure for Egyptian convention.

Amun-Re (**1**) (**3v**)

The god is shown with the curved horns characteristic of Amun, but with a solar disc and a prominent uraeus. The unusual combination of the curved horns and the solar disc do not permit a definite identification, but the god's juxtaposition with Re-Harakhte suggests either another aspect of Horus or Amun-Re. The curved horns favour an identification with Amun. His costume is accurately depicted. He stands before the Pharaoh, raising his arm in a standard Egyptian gesture.

Khnum (**77**, **78**) (**3w**)

Khnum's horizontal horns are clearly shown on **77**. On **77**, he wears the *atef* crown, a feature to date only attested in New Kingdom representations of him. In extant Middle Kingdom representations, he is either crownless or wears a jug on his head (Habachi 1963: Fig 20, Pl. XIV (jug); Lepsius 1849/II: Pl. 119, fourth row down; **3w**; Malaise 1984: 278, no. 10). His attribute on **77**, the *sḫm* sceptre, is also unusual. On **78**, he is crownless and holds no attributes. The god wears different types of Egyptian kilts: a kilt with a frontward projection and an animal tail on **77**, and on **78** a folded kilt. On **77**, he stands in an Egyptianising stance, with his hand raised in the blessing gesture, but the distance between him and the ruler is un-Egyptian. On **78**, he stands with one hand raised in a Levantine gesture, with his other arm lowered.

Rams with curved horns in double crowns (**4**)

The deities with the Amun ram's head but wearing the double crown are not canonical representations of either Khnum or Amun, whose ram iconography has been discussed above. They otherwise wear standard folded kilts. Their gestures and association with the 'lustration' fluid evoke the purification ritual, but are meaningless in Egyptian terms, for the gods hold no vessels.

Seth (**5**, **236**) (**1c**, **3x**)

Seth is represented anthropomorphically (**5**) and as an animal (**236**). On **5**, his truncated ears and wig are marked. He wears a folded kilt and stands with his hand raised in a gesture of protection or blessing. On **236**, the seated animal with the tripartite tail can be compared to Seth animals on seals and scarabs, although the tuft of hair is unusual (cf. Matouk 1977: 383: nos. 508, 510 (New Kingdom)).

Lion-headed god (**5**) (**3y**)

The god is represented in a schematic double crown, wearing, unusually, a kilt with a frontward projection. He offers a falcon or hawk to the hawk-headed deity standing opposite him. Neither the god's outstretched arm nor his offering are characteristic of Egyptian iconography.

6.1.3 Egyptian and Egyptianising goddesses

The non-winged godesses have been grouped according to their crowns. Wigs and clothing from all groups are discussed together in order to avoid repetition.

Wigs

The goddesses are all wigged, except for those on **12, 13, 87** and **99** who wear head-cloths. On **12** an additional piece of cloth falls on to the goddess's shoulder. This type of head-dress is characteristic of the New Kingdom (e.g. David 1981: 134, LR9). The wigs are usually derived from standard Egyptian ones and show little uniformity. Most are unconventional: the front and back sections are different lengths or fall irregularly, the back can be forked and especially long, or can mould the shoulder rather than falling in a heavy mass and there can be no front section (e.g. **20, 30, 34**). On **95, 100** and **122**, an attempt has been made to show dressed wigs, but none is canonically Egyptian. On **95**, the wig is stylised and falls in a forward movement which is echoed by the goddess's skirt. Narrow back sections, as on **28** are found in the Middle and New Kingdoms. The iconography of these wigs appears to be derived as much from official divine representations as from representations of commoners, on monuments such as funerary stelae (e.g. Stewart 1979: Pls. 24, 25: 4; 26: 3; 27: 1; 129: 2ff).

Dress

In the majority of cases the gowns emulate the tight-fitting Egyptian model (cf. e.g. **19, 85, 90**) but with few details. The upper part or shoulder straps are rarely shown. The majority fall to the ground rather than above the ankle. Belts are indicated variously and fall irregularly (**11**) or can be mistaken for folds (e.g. **4, 6**). Fringes are common and these can be heavy, as in Syrian dress (e.g. **6**), or coarsely hemmed (e.g. **92**). The open, flowing garment of the goddess on **13** is unusual. It is not characteristic of goddesses, but it evokes the diaphanous garments worn by queens and noble-women in secular scenes of the New Kingdom (Eaton-Krauss and Graefe 1985: Pls. VIII, XII). The gowns on **14, 95, 100** are hardly Egyptianising: they fall straight or swing forward in a stylised manner. The feminine curves of the goddesses can be overly emphasised e.g. **16, 20, 100**: this may be an attempt at Egyptianisation. In contrast, the goddess on **240** has an almost masculine figure.

Collars are occasionally indicated (e.g. **16, 96**) but only in outline.

The goddess in the Hathor crown (**6–8, 10–3, 24, 79–94, 240, 256**) (**1f, 1g, 3a,b, 4a**)

Crowns

The basic horns and disc of the Hathor crown are usually indicated, but are frequently rendered irregularly, even on seals from the same workshop (D, cf. e.g. **6** and **7**). Thus the horns rise straight and obliquely (e.g. **11**), obliquely with sharply projecting tips (e.g. **6**), curved with sharply projecting tips (e.g. **7**), or convexly with curved tips (e.g. **86**). In examples that are closest to the Egyptian crown, the horns sweep up in a naturalistic curve, with gently projecting tips (e.g. **10, 88**). On **12, 82, 92** (the latter two from Workshop D), the tip of the front horn projects forward. This is an attempt to evoke the uraeus, which was either attached to the crown in Egypt or worn as a diadem, as shown on **6** and **83**. As with the horns, the discs vary in size. Some are proportional to the horns (e.g. **10, 85**), others are unusually small (e.g. **86**). On **17** only one horn is shown.

On **24** the goddess wears a vulture head-dress (see below).

Attributes

The goddess holds a wide range of attributes: the *ankh* (e.g. **11, 80, 90**); short- or long-stemmed, stave-like, lotus leaves (e.g. **13, 93, 256**), flowers and buds (e.g. **91**), a floral staff (**82**), a palm (**94**), a conical loaf and stag (**12**) and a vessel (**13**). The form of the ring symbols on **82** and **92** evoke the *tjet*, even though this was not a symbol normally carried as an attribute by Egyptian goddesses. A likely alternative would be a type of *sistrum*, although it does not resemble the conventional Egyptian types, nor is it held as one. The *ankh*, the conical loaves and the lotuses are commonly held by goddesses in Egyptian rituals. The stag offering recalls the ritual oryx or antelope sacrifice traditionally associated with Hathor or Bastet (Derchain 1962: 22, 56). The straight staff is an Egyptian attribute, but not commonly associated with goddesses. The plant staff on **82** evoke an Egyptian attribute but is rendered in a Levantine manner. The palm (**94**) is the only non-Egyptian attribute. As with the Pharaoh, the manner and the hand in which these attributes are held, except for the *tjet* or the *ankh* in the lowered hand, are largely uncanonical. On **11** for example, the *ankh*s are held the wrong way round; on **12**, two different offerings are pre-

Egyptian goddesses

IIA


4a


84


86


91

IIB


89


240


83


82


85


88


10


79


80


90



11


Al. 150


92

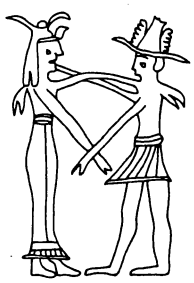

93


256


82


17

IIB



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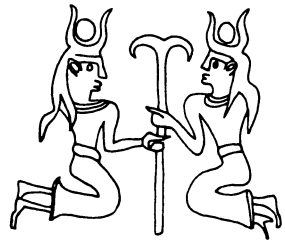


94

III

87

13

12

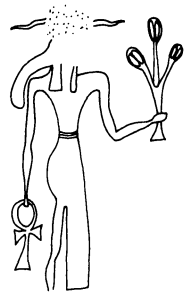
24

IIA

97

100

95



98

IIB

16

96

99

sented and on **91**, the lotus is held as by commoners in mortuary representations. On **81**, an offering resembling stacked loaves is symbolically placed above the goddess's raised arms.

Postures

Standing
The goddesses stand in all cases except on **94**, where they kneel (see below). The standing attitudes and positions in the field are derived from Egyptian ritual episodes of embracing (e.g. **6**, **7**), offering (e.g. **12**), blessing (e.g. **11**, **34**), coronation (e.g. **10**, **79**), respect and protection (e.g. **86**). Again, Egyptian conventions are evoked rather than closely followed. Arm positions can be too rigid (e.g. **6**, **7**), too distant from the main figure when giving the *ankh* (**11**) or too close to the body (e.g. **90**). The single raised arm with a palm turned outwards when standing behind the Pharaoh or a deity is characteristic of Egyptian goddesses, whereas two raised arms, as on **82**, **84**, **85** is a worshipping attitude when facing figures. It is also a Mesopotamian and Syrian attitude (cf. the Suppliant goddess **84**). On **88**, the two hands are raised in a purification gesture, but the arms are reversed.The half-turned stance of the goddess on **13** evokes the one adopted when leading the Pharaoh by the hand towards a deity, but the style of the scene is more akin to representations of the queen with the Pharaoh in secular New Kingdom scenes (Eaton-Krauss and Graefe 1985: Pls. VIII, X). Here the goddess holds a plant instead of holding the Pharaoh's hand.

Kneeling
This is not an Egyptian attitude for goddesses, but is a transposed Syrian convention applied to other figures associated with a palm (cf. **267**).

The goddess with the ram's horns crown (**14**, **15**, **16**, **95–100**)

Crowns

The horizontal ram's horns which form the base of these crowns evoke the horns of Khnum and symbolised power and fertility. Although such horns formed a base for numerous crowns (e.g. the *atef*), here the principal unifying elements are the feminine symbols of the Hathor crown and floral elements. The central elements of the crowns vary, and not all are distinct. The horns are clearly combined with the Hathor crown on **4** and **15** and miscellaneous floral elements on **96** and **99**. On **95**, the central, damaged, element is either plumes or part of another tall crown (double?). On **100**, the crown appears to be a type of *atef* or another, bud-like, floral element (cf. **103**). On **97** and perhaps **98**, the horns are worn alone. In Egypt, complex combined crowns with ram's horns are so far attested on female goddesses from the New Kingdom onwards. The evidence of these seals, all of which can be dated to Periods II–III, shows that they could have been associated with goddesses as early as the Middle Kingdom. However, the central element of the crown may be indistinct (e.g. **95**) or only evoke floral elements (e.g. **96**, **99**), and the horns themselves are unevenly aligned or curved. It is thus possible that these crowns are spurious. The wearing of the Hathor and ram's horns (**4b**), the floral and ram's horns and the plain ram's horns by other Egyptianising figures from Middle Bronze Age seals of this corpus (the sphinx e.g. **133**; the Horus falcon e.g. **143**), is to be noted, and may be further evidence of these crowns' early occurrence and authenticity (see relevant entries in Chapter 5, however). The possible *atef* on **100** is a comparatively rare crown for Egyptian goddesses .

Attributes

A number of the goddesses' attributes have been encountered before: the *tjet* or *sistrum* (**14**), the lotus (**15**), conical loaves (**95**), the *ankh* (**98**). The *ḫpš* scimitar (**99**) is Egyptian but not commonly carried by goddesses. The plant (**98**) and wheat sheaf (**99**) are not Egyptian but relate to the lotus as attributes.

Attitudes

The standing attitude and hand gestures of the goddesses are similar to those of the goddess in the Hathor crown.

The goddess in the floral head-dress (**20**, **101–4**)

Crowns

These head-dresses are mostly characterised by indistinct floral shoots. The small modius supporting the shoots is only visible on **20**. On **103**, the head-dress looks like an opening (lotus?) bud. The goddesses predominantly associated with floral crowns in Egypt were Hathor and Meret. The latter's long wig and anthropomorphic form with two outstretched arms was very distinctive and bears no resemblance to the goddess portrayed here (Berlandini 1982: 81–2). The basic form of these head-dresses consisted of three central shoots with two side shoots falling to the sides, and more elaborate combinations of vertical and bent shoots rising from a modius (cf. **4c**). The flowers were the traditional papyrus of Lower Egypt or the plant of Upper Egypt and a combination of both. None of the head-dresses in this group correspond closely to the Egyptian types. The one on **20** resembles the lotus, while those on **101**, **102** and **104** merely evoke its form. The 'bud' on **103** is exceptional; it may have been derived from an Egyptian form, but has been stylised. The head-dress of the ruler on this seal is equally idiosyncratic.

Attributes

The goddesses hold few attributes. On **20**, she holds a *menat*, which is rendered by thick beads, and is barely recognisable as the Egyptian attribute (**3a**). On **103**, she holds a non-Egyptian plant.

Attitudes

Standing attitudes are familiar from goddesses in Groups 1 and 2.

Goddesses in miscellaneous head-dresses (**3**, **18**, **19**, **21**, **29**, **105**)

The solar disc (**3**, **18**, **19**)

This head-dress, with and without the uraeus, is characteristic of deities linked to solar beliefs (cf. **1**). The female deities mostly associated with it are Isis (**4d**), Hathor and the lioness-goddess, Sachmet. Uraei are visible on both crowns, attached to the disc on **19** and to a modius on **18**. The latter is not characteristic of divine female head-dresses before the New Kingdom.

The double plumes (*swty*) and cow's horns (**21**, **29**?)

This head-dress, with and without the solar disc, is attested on various female deities from the New Kingdom onwards, but again notably on Isis (David 1981: 34, W. Wall, Door VI WB) and Hathor (Lanzone 1882: Pls. CCXIV: 3, CCXV: 4). Seal **21** dates from Period IIB.

The *atef*? (**105**)

The *atef*, with or without the horizontal ram's horns, was rare on female deities, but is attested from the New Kingdom onwards. It is particularly associated with Nekhbet (Mariette 1869: Pl. 30c) through her role as protectress in the mortuary cult, but it can also be worn by Hathor and Iunet, the goddess of Armant.

Attributes

The goddesses on **18** and **19** both hold plants, of which **19** is clearly a lotus. Although the latter is a standard Egyptian offering, neither plant corresponds to an Egyptian form. The lotus on **19** is held as a staff.

Attitudes

The goddesses' attitudes are familiar from Groups 1–3. The outstretched arm positions on **19** are Egyptian.

The goddess in the vulture head-dress (**106**)

Head-dress

The tail and front part of the head-dress (cf. **24**) which is worn here with only a wig, are clearly represented (cf. **4e**).

Attitude

The goddess raises her hand palm outwards in an Egyptian gesture of protection (e.g. David 1981: 30, LRD, LRC).

IIB

4b

IIB

14

III

15

4c

IIA

101

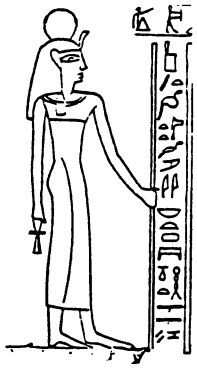
103

IIB

102

20

104



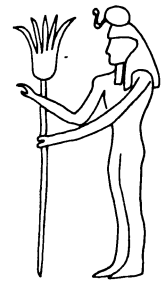
4d

IIB

18

III

3



19

IIB

21

III

29

105

IIA

4e

106

109

IIB

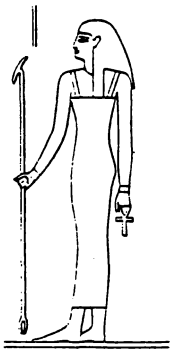
107

22

63

54

108



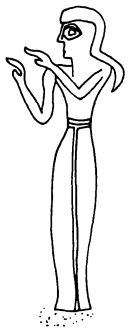
4f

IIA

111

117

124



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122

IIB

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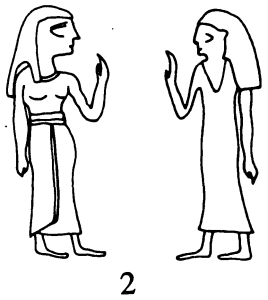

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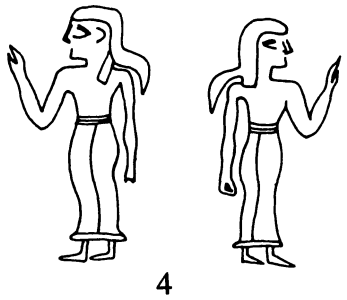

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IIB

23

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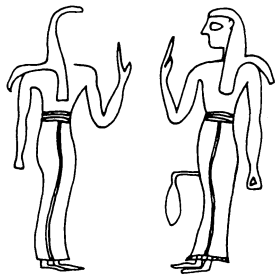

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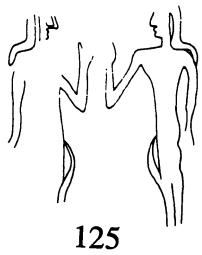

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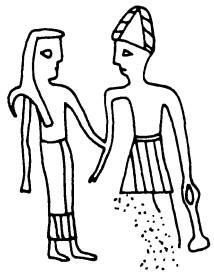

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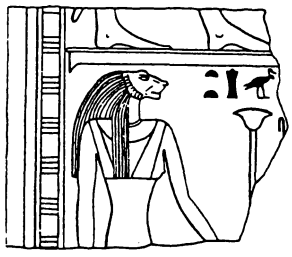


4g

IIB

2

IIA

27

IIB

126

III

29

30

127

28

The goddess in the uraeus (**22**, **54**, **63**, **107–9**)

Diadem

The goddesses in this group wear uraei diadems without crowns. The diadems are clearly indicated on **107** and **108**. Uraei with crowns are worn on e.g. **6**, **18**, **28**, **83**, **104**.

Attributes

The goddesses hold few attributes. The lotus staff on **108** is familiar, but the spear (**107**) is not Egyptian.

Attitudes

These are known from Groups 1–4.

The goddess (?) in the wig (**2**, **4**, **9**, **23**, **34**, **110–25**)

Wigs

The goddesses wear plain wigs in all cases. The discrepancies between these and the Egyptian types (**4f**) have been mentioned above.

Attributes

The comparative paucity of attributes held by this type of goddess is notable. The majority of attributes she does hold – the lotus (**113**, **115**), the papyrus (**123**), the *ankh* (**121**) – are Egyptian, but the short plants of **113** and **119** and the manner in which they are held are characteristic of representations of commoners in mortuary contexts. The curved 'batons' (**116**, **120**) may be stylised floral shapes (cf. **113**). On **121** the plant is held as a staff (cf. **57**). The staves on **34** and **110** are not Egyptian (cf. **87**), nor is the jug above the goddess's hands, perhaps symbolising an offering, on **114**.

Attitudes

The goddesses' attitudes, with the exception of **118**, are similar to those encountered above: passive, offering, protective and blessing (e.g. **4**, **23**). The latter, together with the uncanonical palm-inwards gesture (e.g. **110**, **111**, **117**, **122**) appears to be particularly characteristic of this goddess. The gesture of two raised hands with flattened palms on **114**, not encountered before with goddesses, is also derived from a standard Egyptian offering gesture (Lepsius 1849/II: Pl. 119). On **118**, the goddessses (?) are placed in a secondary role in the terminal, seated holding cups in a wholly Syro-Levantine convention.

Lioness goddess (**2**) (**4g**)

Iconography

The goddess wears no crown, but a heavy wig. She is dressed in Egyptianising costume, with a collar. She has no attributes.

Attitude

Her stance and raised arm gesture, which are identical to that of the goddess in the plain wig opposite her, are not characteristically Egyptian.

Winged goddesses (**27–30**, **126**, **127**)

A pair of unwinged goddesses (**126**) is included in this section because they are iconographically related to the winged goddesses and the goddess in the Hathor crown. This is significant for the question of the Middle Kingdom iconography of Isis and Nephthys.

Crowns

The goddesses all wear wigs but not all of them have crowns. The crowns are the horns and disc (**28**, **30**, **127**), and in one instance the horns alone (**126**). The crowns on the Period III (**30**, **127**) or earlier (**126**) seals are schematic, with poorly defined horns and very small discs on **30** and **127**. On the Period III seal **28**, the Hathor crown has been Levantinised, with notching on the horns and a non-Egyptian solar disc. The wigs are all derived from the standard Egyptian type.

Dress

The goddesses are mostly dressed in Egyptianising costume, which is best represented on **27**.

Attributes

The primary attribute of these deities are their wings. On **27**, they hold *was*-like sceptres.

Attitudes

A profile, 'vertical' view of diagonally opened wings with splayed tips is characteristic of Egyptian iconography, and classically portayed on **27** (cf. **1i**). Although this does not seem to be attested on anthropomorphic figures from the Middle Kingdom, as mentioned above, it is a feature of the Horus falcon and the *nekhbet* vulture in royal iconography, and of the cobra *wḏ3t* on magical wands (Faulkner 1972: 117 upper; Lange and Hirmer 1967: Pls. 92, 93; Aldred 1978: Fig. 39). The attitude conveys protection. It is not a feature which originated in the Levant, Anatolia or Mesopotamia, where wings on anthropomorphic figures or demons are opened backwards and not brought forward as here. The wings on **28–30**, **127** are open in the Egyptian manner, but are treated differently: they are shorter and have blunter tips, and some are bent (**28**). The wings on **127** show no detail of plumage, and on **30** are very schematic. On anthropomorphic figures in Egypt, wings can be clearly shown attached to the underside of arms, which then adopt the position of the arms (cf. **126**) (Aldred 1978: Figs. 64, 67). On the seals, the figures' arms are shown (**27**, **30**, **127**) in positions that are Egyptianising but not characteristic of this type of iconography. Seal **27** may be an exception and show a genuine attitude, since its Egyptianising iconography is generally precise. No arms at all are apparent on **28** and **29**. On **126**, the goddess on the left stands with her arms open in a wing-like span, in an attitude not found on wingless figures. The iconography of this figure, including her crown of cow's horns, is fluid and shows characteristics of both the unwinged goddess in the Hathor crown, and the winged goddesses of **27**, for example. The goddess opposite, who wears an identical crown, raises only one arm in a gesture used by the goddess in the Hathor crown in a similar context (cf. **3**). The omission of the disc from the crown could demonstrate iconographical uncertainty by the seal-cutter as much as negligence, for however schematically they are rendered, essential details of the crowns are not usually omitted.

6.1.4 The child or youth (**5**, **85**, **96**, **98**, **119**, **128–31**, **218**) (**1d**, **1p**, **1q**, **4h**, **4i**)

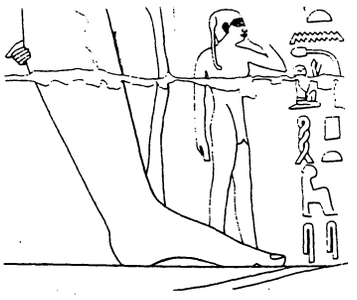
General iconography

The children or youths are mostly male. They are represented in three different hairstyles: with a back lock, which can be plain (e.g. **85** or dressed **129**), and with short or closely cropped or shaven hair (**131**), or with an Egyptianising head-cloth (**119**). The back lock is also worn by taller, more adult looking figures who are armed (**106**, **136**) and a female (**218**). On **5** and **129**, the youth is significantly taller than the children on **96**, **98**, **128**, **131**. The smaller, presumably youngest figures are naked (**96**, **98**, **130**, **131**) while the others wear folded kilts (**119**, **129**, cf. **106**, **136**) or a loin cloth? (**5**). They stand feet astride, with one arm extended forward or raised towards an adult (**85**, **96**, **98**) or deity (**5**, **128**), folded (**129**) or with both arms lowered (**119**, **131**). On **5**, the youth half kneels, drawing a bow held with the right hand awkwardly crossed over the left which holds the arrow. This is an impossible position, but seemingly incorrect arm positions, are an occasional feature of other Egyptianising figures in the corpus (e.g. **64**, **88**), are found in Egypt (e.g. Borchardt 1913: Pl. 47) and are mostly a matter of convention. The iconography of these figures, except for **98**, combines Egyptian and Levantine features: the back lock appears on Egyptian evidence to be both Levantine and Egyptian, but is more characteristic of the former, and shaven or close-cropped hair is also found in representations of both. The boy's short hair on **98** is Levantine. Naked children are characteristic of representations of both. The kilt on **129** is Levantine. The postures on **5**, **96**, **119**, **130** are Egyptianising, whereas those on **85**, **98**, **128**, **129** are more Levantine.

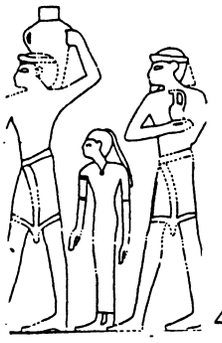
6.1.5 The Lion-demon ('Bes') (**132**)

The demon on **132** is slight, with hardly any mane, and has a tail. His stance and tail can be closely paralleled to Middle Kingdom lion-demon figurines (**1r**, **4j**).

Child or youth



4h



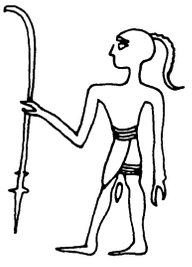
4i

IIA

98

131

128



106

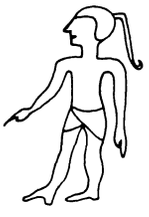
IIA–IIB

136

130

IIB

5



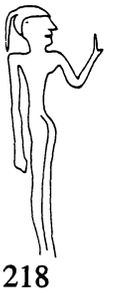
85

96

129

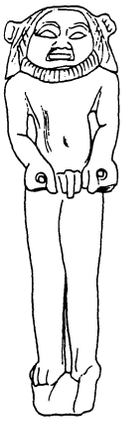
III

119



218

Lion demon ('Bes')



4j

IIB

132

6.1.6 Sphinxes

With one exception (**162**), the sphinx is a composite being with a human head and a lion's body. On **162**, the sphinx may be ram-headed.

The sphinx's iconography varies considerably. Both winged and unwinged types occur. The former are more common, with wings clearly detached from the body (e.g. **168**) or, more rarely, folded against the body (e.g. **143**). The latter and the wingless sphinx are closest to Egyptian types. Their tails are pronounced and curl outwards (e.g. **138**) or inwards (e.g. **136**). Bearded sphinxes are rare (e.g. **43**, **136**) as are indications of sex (**136**). By analogy with Egypt, the majority of the sphinxes are taken here to be male, even when unbearded. In this corpus, no sphinx has female sexual features, but femininity is probably implied by a diminutive size, and again by analogy with Egypt, by female head-dresses such as the Hathor wig (e.g. **114**, **150**) and crown (e.g. **141**), or a modius (**140**).

Head-dresses and crowns

The most common type of Egyptian head-dress worn by the sphinxes are the *nemes* or *afnet* head-cloths (e.g. **145**, **149**). The plain ram's horns (e.g. **133**, **134**), the ram's horns with disc or double plumes (e.g. **5**, **135**, **136**), the *atef* and cow's horns (**137**), the Hathor crown (e.g. **141**), the Hathor wig (e.g. **114**, **150**), the modius (**140**), the uraeus (e.g. **160**), plain wigs (e.g. **139**) and the skull cap (e.g. **138**). All these head-dresses, found on Egyptian sphinxes or griffins, can be schematic on the seals. The sphinxes are also represented with additional Levantine features (e.g. **139**: a long back curl).

Wings

Wings folded against the body (e.g. **133**, **143**), which are traditionally Egyptian, are never rendered in detail on glyptic. The erect or open wings are not of the erect or open type characteristic of Egyptian winged beings found, for example, on Middle Kingdom figures on apotropaic wands, griffins, the Horus falcon, the Nekhbet vulture or the lapwing. Thus the evidence indicates that although the winged sphinx (folded wings) was traditionally Egyptian, the sphinx with fully raised wings is a Levantine development, which inspired the types found in the New Kingdom minor arts. The latter have a mixed iconography with wings that are Levantine (Liebowitz 1987: Figs. 5, 7; Helck 1955: Fig. a; Demisch 1977: Fig. 61: **1y**) and other Egyptian, of the 'lapwing' type (Liebowitz 1987: Fig. 9; Helck 1955: Fig. e). Seal **157** shows the sphinx with rare Syrian-type splayed wings.

Sphinxes are represented both singly and as a pair. Two single sphinxes can be superimposed (e.g. **146**). When shown as a pair, the sphinxes can be identical but are often slightly different. One of them can appear larger and more dominant (e.g. **157**): this may be an indication of sex.

The single sphinx

The sphinx is found in a variety of attitudes: seated with one paw raised (e.g. **114**, **138**) or more seldom couchant (e.g. **133**, **141**). In Egypt, the extended foreleg is characteristic of the sphinx in the trampling pose but is not found with seated sphinxes. The raised paw is characteristic of leonine postures on Syro-Levantine glyptic and is found with seated sphinxes on New Kingdom scarabs (e.g. Demisch 1977: Fig. 52).

Principal types of sphinxes only are illustrated.

The smiting or trampling sphinx (e.g. **5**, **136**, **153**)

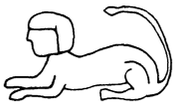
In all cases the sphinxes' stance is close to the Egyptian prototype, including the double plumes and horns crowns on **5** and **136**. The trampling of two victims (**5**, **136**) is also characteristically Egyptian, but these are usually dominated rather than fleeing, as on **5**. The cartouche associated with the trampling sphinxes on **153** is particularly reminiscent of a Middle Kingdom pectoral where griffins simultaneously dominate enemies and support a cartouche with their extended forelegs (**2a**). Here the motif is only approximately rendered: the cartouche is askew and is not directly supported by the sphinxes (see also **51**).

Sphinxes

IIA

244

IIB



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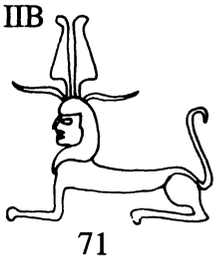
IIA

133

135

IIB



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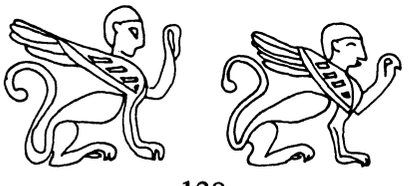
141

IIA

212

168

IIA



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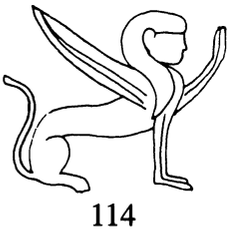

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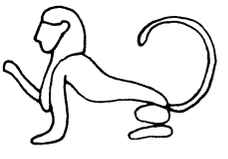
IIB



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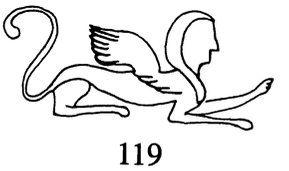

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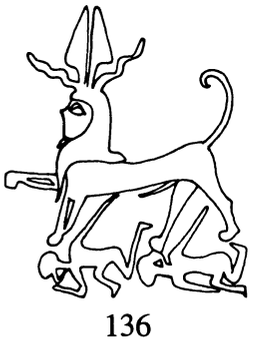
IIA



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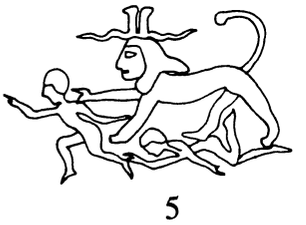
IIB



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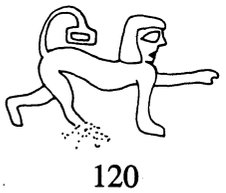
IIA



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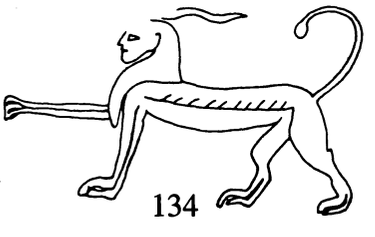

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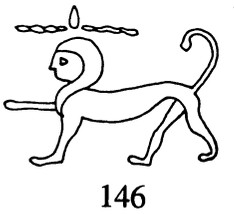

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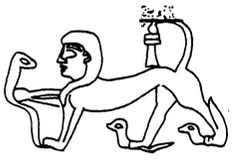
IIA

143

144

242

IIA–IIB



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IIB

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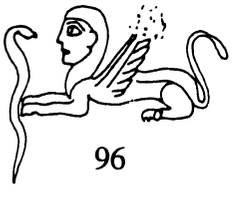

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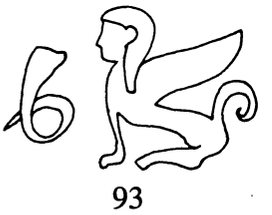

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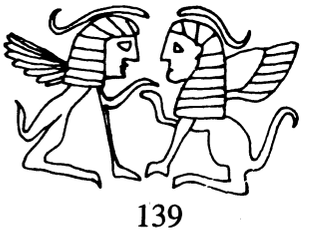
IIB

147

I–IIA



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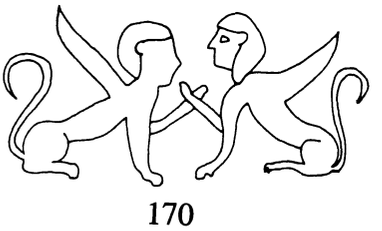

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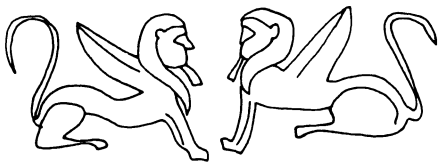

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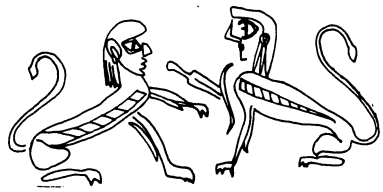

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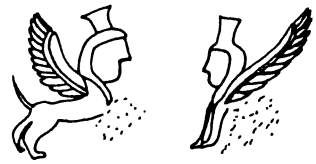

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IIA

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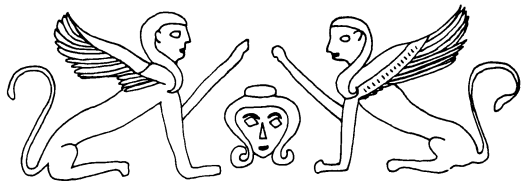

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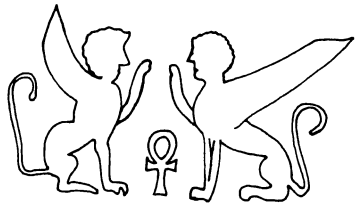

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IIB

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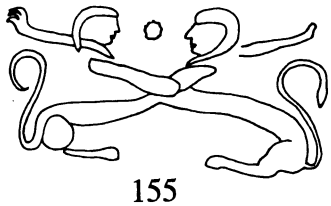

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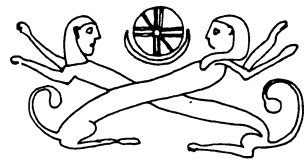

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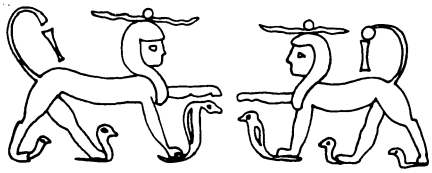

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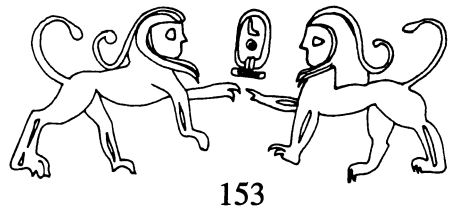


153

IIA

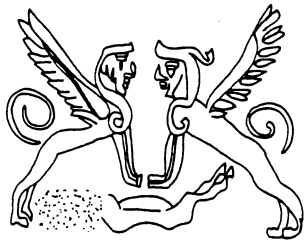
160

IIB

161

152

IIB



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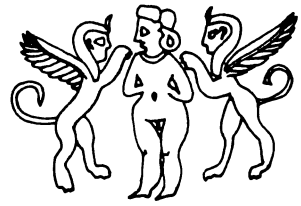


159

IIB

162

Griffin

IIB

166

165

164

163

The sphinx and snakes (**51, 54, 88, 93, 96, 130, 142–7, 242**)

The motif occurs with a single sphinx or a pair of sphinxes (e.g. **142**). The sphinxes either step directly on one or several snakes, with one front paw or with all four paws, or lie or raise a paw towards a snake before them (e.g. **93, 96, 146**). When stepping on snakes, the sphinx generally adopts the smiting stance, and a vulture (**132**), a hare (**142**) or a cartouche (**51**) is occasionally placed above the paw. The sphinx can be crownless (e.g. **143, 146**) or wear a ram's horns and disc crown (e.g. **132, 142**). On **142** and **130**, *djed*s are attached or hang from the sphinxes' tails. As already stated this is not an Egyptian convention and may be an argument for a Syro-Levantine origin for this motif (see Chapter 5).

The active sphinx with animals and demons (**134, 137**)

The attitudes of the sphinx with folded (**134**), erect wings (**137**), and raised paw (**134**) are familiar. The sphinx on **134** wears a plain ram's horns crown. The *atef*? with double horns worn by the sphinx on **137** is the only one of its type in this corpus.

Pairs of sphinxes (e.g. **139, 140, 157, 158, 170**)

Seated opposing sphinxes are found on New Kingdom scarabs (Hornung and Staehelin 1976: e.g. no. 453). The opposing, slightly asymmetrical, rampant attitude of the sphinxes on **151, 159** is not Egyptian, but has parallels in Levantine iconography where it is adopted by griffins (cf. **164**).

Noteworthy types are 1) the long wigs on **139** and the modii on **140**; 2) the differences between the sphinxes on **157**: the sphinx on the left has two wings opened laterally, and has a much finer face than the sphinx opposite; and 3) the ram's horns crowns and differing faces and wigs of the sphinxes on **161**, and the trees on their hindquarters.

The sphinx with celestial symbols (**154–6**)

The sphinxes' opposing semi-rampant attitude on **154** and **155** is not Egyptian and may be related to early Middle Bronze Age Cappadocian and Syrian iconography where animals, mythical figures and humans cross bodies in various contexts (Özgüç 1965: 13; Pls. V: 22; VIII: 34, 35; XII: 44; Marcopoli: no. 432). Unlike the sphinxes, these figures' faces turn outwards. The whole motif, as already mentioned, evokes the Egyptian antithetical lions (aker) or sphinxes supporting the sun disc or the sign of the horizon on their backs, who symbolise 'today' and 'tomorrow' or the 'west' and the 'east' in funerary contexts (De Wit 1951: 125–36; Rössler-Köhler 1980: 1142–3; Lanzone 1882: Pl. 2, 4) (**1x**). The second point in common with the Egyptian motif is that the sphinxes in this attitude are unwinged. The motif as it appears on **154** and **155** may thus be a conflation of Egyptian and Levantine imagery.

The ram-headed (?) sphinx (**162**)

The animal and possibly ram-headed sphinx has fully raised wings and wears a solar disc head-dress on top of his schematic ram's horns. His raised-paw attitude is otherwise identical to that of the human-headed sphinxes discussed above. Another Egyptian composite ram-headed figure at this period is further demonstrated by the possible ram-headed hawk on **174**. (cf. **2f**).

6.1.7 The griffin (**163–6**)

The griffins have erect wings and Syro-Levantine attitudes. The rampant stance on **163** is very similar to that of the sphinxes on **151**. The griffins on **163** and **164** wear Hathor crowns. This crown apears to have been associated with the griffin through his links with the sphinx. Seal **166** has been included here because it shows both the crested head of the animal, with possible horns (ram's?), and the double wings, a feature of the Egyptian New Kingdom minor arts motifs mentioned above (Bisi 1965: 29; Montet: 1937: Fig. 102) (**2b**).

The iconography of the griffin on Levantine glyptic bears little relation to that of the Egyptian griffin of the Old and Middle Kingdoms (Barta 1973–4: 338–43). His wings are mostly raised (e.g. **35, 163**) and not folded as in Egypt and he does not appear in the trampling pose or passant, as in desert scenes in Egypt. Exceptions are **64**, where the seated griffin is reminiscent of the griffin in his Horus aspect seated and facing Seth on a Middle Kingdom pectoral (Feucht-Putz 1967: 10; Barta: 1973–4: no. 14). The sex of the griffin, which can be clearly

marked in Egyptian Middle Kingdom iconography (Demisch 1977: Fig. 6) is not indicated on Levantine glyptic. It can appear both masculine (e.g. as an agressor (**166**) and with feminine attributes (e.g the Hathor crown: **163**, **164**). In the New Kingdom, official iconography continued the Old and Middle Kingdom traditions of the trampling, standing, couchant and seated griffins, with a new emphasis on his solar associations (Barta 1973–4: nos. 18–21, 27, etc.). In the minor arts the griffin is represented differently: he is crested, usually rampant and with raised double wings (**2b**). He occurs in this form as an animal of the field, drawing a chariot and trampling over enemies, and with solar and plant associations (Bisi 1965: 18–27; 28–35: Fig. 3). Some of these griffins appear as details in depictions of Syrian dress (Bisi 1965: 29; Montet 1935: Figs. 102, 153). This iconography often relates in general through the raised wings and in detail through its crested head to the Middle Bronze Age Levantine griffin (cf. **2b** and **166**).

6.1.8 The hawk (**2c–e**, **4k**, **4l**)

The hawk appears in three different attitudes: in profile with folded wings (e.g. **167**), frontal with spread wings (e.g. **168**) and, more rarely, in profile with open wings (e.g. **35**). In the majority of cases he is crownless. Otherwise he may wear a double crown (e.g. **77**, **87**, **167**), a ram's horns and disc (**132**) or ram's horns and Hathor crown (**143**). When frontal, his claws hold the *shen* (e.g. **99**) or the *ankh* (e.g. **37**), a quadruped (**251**) or are empty (e.g. **172**). Some birds do not correspond to the conventional Egyptian Horus type (see Appendix A), but may have been intended as such for they have similar attributes (e.g. double crown, back to front: **178**) or similar places in the field (e.g. **2**, **34**, **65**). Others are crested but also have Horus attributes (e.g. standing on a papyrus staff: **31** or an *ankh*: **242**).

6.1.9 The ram-headed bird (**174**)

The animal is frontal with spread wings. The head is turned to the left and the animal has been identified as ram-headed because its physiognomy resembles that of the ram-headed figures on e.g **4**, **78**, **106**. This identification is tentative (cf. **2f**).

6.1.10 The vulture (**2g**, **4m**, **4n**)

The vulture is represented in three principal attitudes: in profile with spread (**2g**) and folded wings (e.g. **234**, **239**) and frontal with spread wings (e.g. **177**) (**2a**). She is never crowned. It is not clear whether the bird on **175** is a hawk or a vulture: its position corresponds to that of the vulture but its wings are more hawk-like. On **176** the vultures' wings are open diagonally and not in the right-angled Egyptian manner, perhaps because of lack of space.

6.1.11 Divine cobras (**1d**, **1i**, **2h**, **4o**, **4p**)

The cobra wears a white crown on **183**, the Hathor crown on **13** and **120**, and is crownless on **11**, **106** and **238**. Both the cobras on **183** and **238** are erect in the field. On **183**, the cobra in the white crown undulates in a realistic manner paralleled in Egypt by, for example, a cobra staff in a funerary context (Faulkner 1972: 29, Spell 125). The crownless cobra on **238** is similarly erect but more schematically rendered. On **11**, the cobra is draped around a spurious cartouche, evoking the Egyptian motif (**4o**). The two have been roughly conflated on **106**: the spurious cartouche has a cobra head and tail. On **13**, the cobra wears a Hathor crown, which is legitimately associated with the cobra in Egypt (Gardiner, Peet and Černý 1955: 202: Pl. LXII: (left): **4p**). Her coiled tail on this seal is a secondary addition, perhaps with the intention of making her look like the New Kingdom snake goddess Meretseger (Bruyère 1930: 109–17: Figs. 47–56). A Hathor crown is also worn by the un-Egyptian cobra shaped offering held by the ruler on **120**.

Hawk

IIA


4k


97



109


106


124

IIB


2


64


88


226

III


3


220



28

IIA



123


136

IIB



226


71

III



72


41

IIA


178

IIA-IIB



77

IIB


167


87

IIA


242

IIB


199


5


50

III


31


13


218

IIA

124

74

168

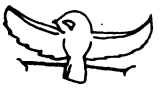
214

262

IIB

172

Al. 139



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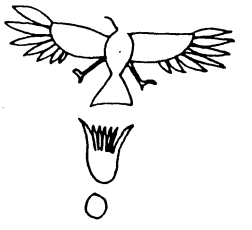
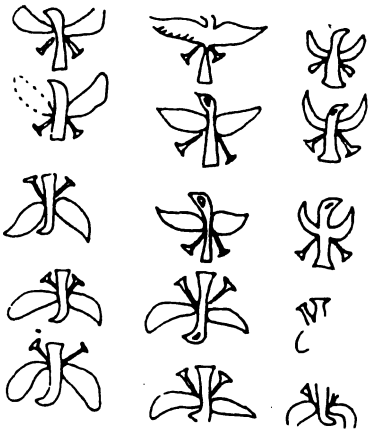


169

IIA

116

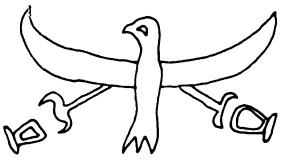
IIB



173

IIA

171



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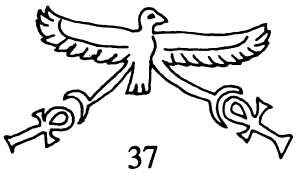
IIB



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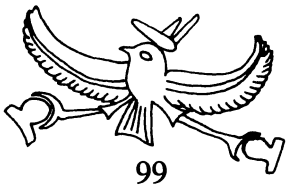


99

IIA

143

IIB

132

IIB

251

35

199

IIA

174

vulture


4m

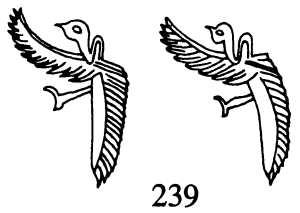
IIA


188

IIB


145


96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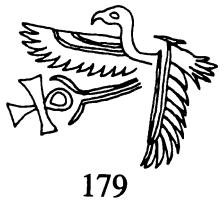
IIA


161


50


167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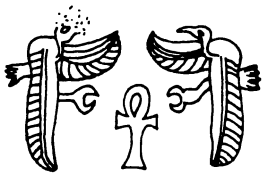
176

IIB


180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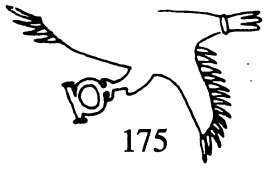

175


31

IIA


4n


117

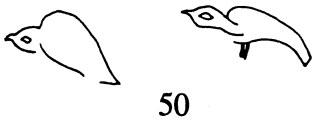

234


131


90


132

IIB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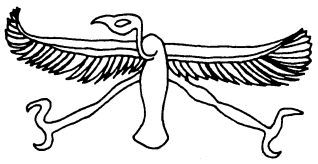
IIB


167

IIA



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190

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101

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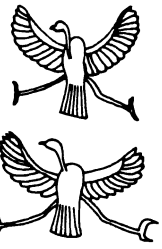

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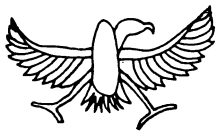
IIB



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217

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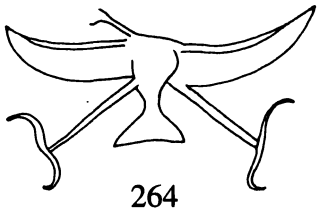
IIA



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IIA

178

IIA-IIB

77

IIA

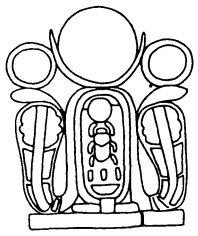
136

IIB

166

196

Cobras



4o

IIA

106

IIB

11

4p

IIB

238

183

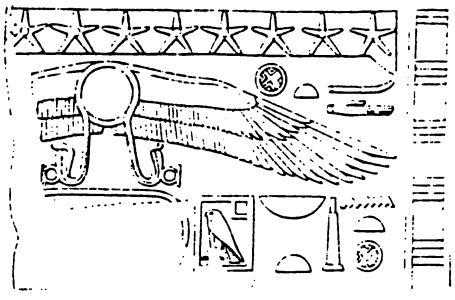
III

13

IIA

120

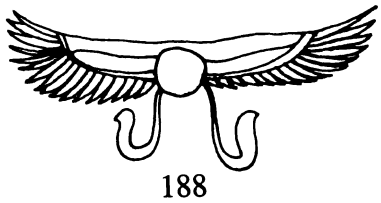
Winged sun disc



4q

4r

IIA



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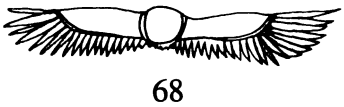
IIB

184

IIA



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114

IIB

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IIA

177

IIB

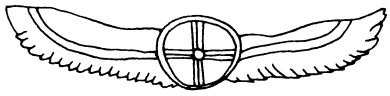
185

IIA

131

IIB

129



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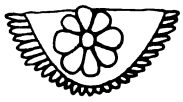
187

IIA



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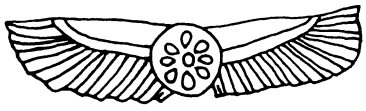

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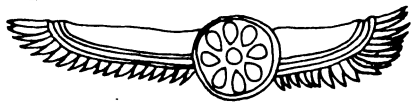

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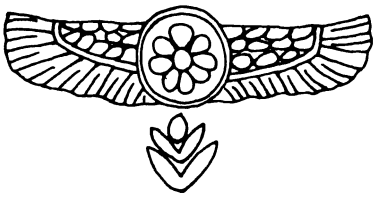

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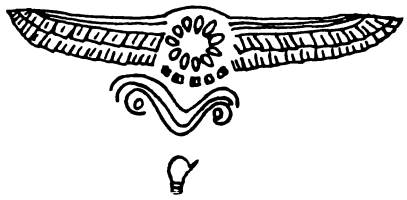

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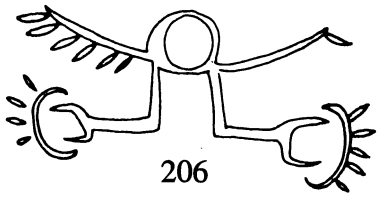

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IIA

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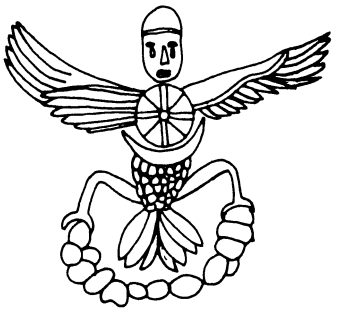

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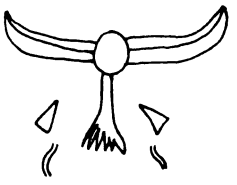

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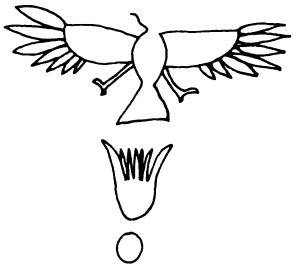

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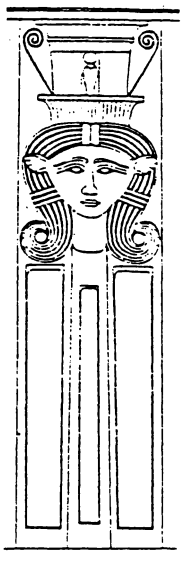


4s

Hathor head

IIA

198

150

149

201

148

IIB

151

199

200

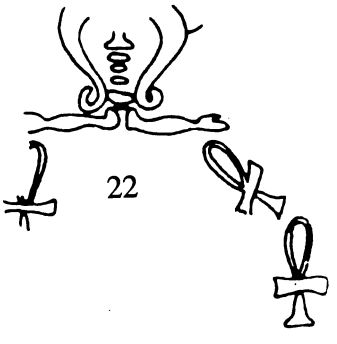
203

206

IIB

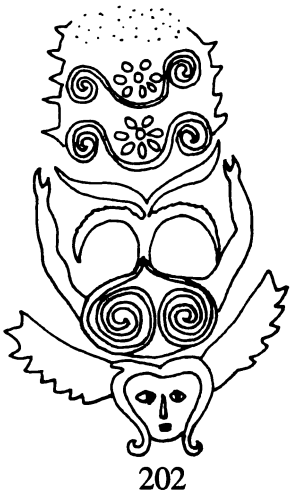
204

205



22

IIA



202

6.1.12 The winged sun disc (**1c**, **1j**, **2l**, **2n**, **4q**, **4r**)

The Syrian winged sun disc differs in three essentials from its Egyptian prototype. 1) It is very rarely shown with uraei (**184**, **188**). 2) The sun disc itself is not the Egyptian solar disc, but the standard sun disc symbol found on Levantine, Anatolian and Mesopotamian glyptic, sometimes with its accompanying moon crescent (e.g. **187**). The latter is also un-Egyptian. 3) A rosette occasionally replaces the central sun disc (e.g. **186**). On **206** two arms bent sharply outwards at the elbow and holding discs? hang from the sun disc. This only loosely evokes the Egyptian motif, where arms hanging from the winged disc are slightly bent at the elbow or hang straight down, and may hold *ankh*s or a cartouche (Radwan 1975: Dok. 18–21) (**2l**). The position of the arms on **206** is closer to that of the arms hanging from the Hathor head on **22**. On **68**, **184**, **188** the symbol is closest to the Egyptian type (e.g. Bisson de la Roque 1937: 19; Arnold 1974: 18).

Principal types of winged sun discs and rosettes only are illustrated.

Setting and Supports

The setting of the winged sun or rosette is standard. It is normally in the upper field or 'sky', and frequently above, or seemingly supported by, a tree or a pole. It is associated with three basic types of supports; 1) a tree of varying degrees of stylisation that can be identified by its morphology as a date palm; 2) a pole which symbolises a date palm; 3) a combination of the date palm with other stylised tree(s), characterised by floral elements (e.g. a lotus, Marcopoli: no. 501), or volutes (e.g. **202**). The crescent appears both with unsupported and supported winged discs, but more often with the latter. When the rosette forms the central disc there is no crescent.

6.1.13 The Hathor head (**1w**, **2k**, **4s**)

Three basic types of Hathor head are represented: an oval face and wig with two long curling ends (**198**), a triangular face with clearly marked ears and a short, centrally indented wig (e.g. **199**, **200**, **206**) and a similar face and wig, but without the ears (e.g. **150**, **151**, **202**). On **203** the head and wig are flattened. The head on **150** has a modius, and on **199** rests on a small, indistinct stand. The triangular-faced Hathor heads on **199** and **200** resemble amulet types (Reisner 1958: Pl. V: nos. 12670–91). The resemblance of the head on **201** to the Humbaba head has been mentioned in Chapter 5.

The wings on **202** are not an Egyptian feature.

6.1.14 The *ankh* and other symbols

The *ankh* (**4t–w**)

In the majority of cases, the *ankh*s resemble the Egyptian type. Nos. **2**, **49**, **147**, **169** and **210** are exceptional, **49** because it has outwardly turning ends and **2**, **147**, **210** because side-strips are combined with the central shaft of the *ankh*. These forms occur in Egypt but are rare (Baines 1975: 11–13, 24 (**4w**)). The *ankh* on **49** can also be compared to the penis sheath (Baines 1975: 11: Figs. 4 (**4v**), 7).

For the *sa* (**4x**), the cord (**4y**), the shen (**4z**) see 'The *ankh* and other symbols' in Chapter 5.

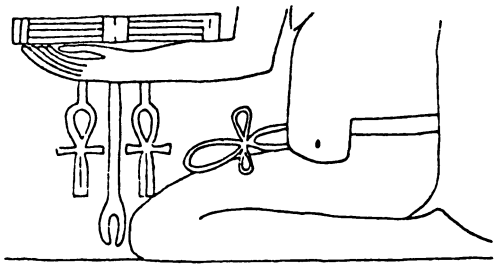
The cartouche

Cartouches enclosing hieroglyphs are all different and vary in their quality of execution. On **61** it is straightforwardly oval, on **217** and **218** they stand on bases, and **220** has a flat base. All have a single encircling line except for **217**, which has a double encircling and base line. Type **61** and **218** have general parallels with cartouches on scarabs dating from the end of the XIIth Dynasty to the XVIIth Dynasty (Tufnell 1984: e.g. Pls. LIII: no. 3083; LIV: no. 3106; LXII: nos. 3445, 3453; LXIII: no. 3494), although the thin encircling lines and base are more characteristic of the later IInd Intermediate period (Tufnell 1984: Pls. LXII: e.g. nos. 3060, 3063; LIII: no. 3077; LIV: no. 3131). The cartouche on **217** can be closely paralleled by cartouches of XIIIth Dynasty (1786–1648 BC) royal name scarabs (Ward in Tufnell 1984: 154–61) and I have offered a revised date for this seal (Teissier 1992) on these grounds. The cartouche on **220** is a very crude local form.

Ankh and other symbols


4t


4u

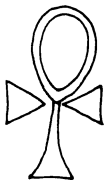

4v


4w

IIA


213

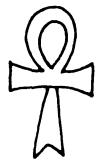

214


208

IIB


49

III

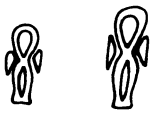

236


13

IIA


213

IIB


145

IIA

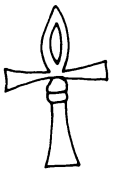

95

IIB


215


184

IIA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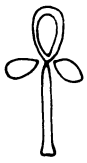

235

IIA

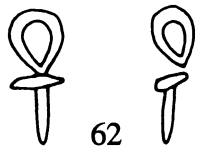

100

IIB


20


223

III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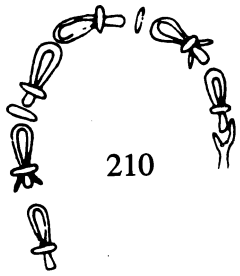
IIB


210


169


49


147


2

IIB

4x

238

IIB

4y

IIA

134

178

216

IIA

4z

178

170

171

IIA-IIB

77

IIB

31

175

99

199

167

IIB

5a

217

III

62

218

61

220

IIB

85

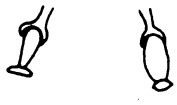
153

240

51

80

IIA

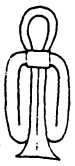


174

IIB

106

11


5b

IIB


9

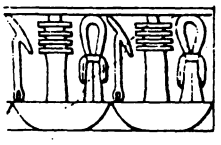

14


47


82


92


5c


5d

IIA


34


123

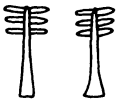

109


138

IIB


88

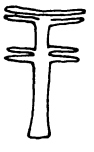

58


2

III


73

IIB


131


240


171


5e

IIA


123

IIB


238

IIB

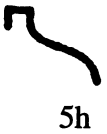

5f


5g

IIB


167

IIB


5h

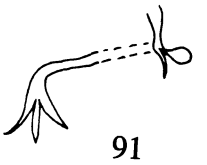

183

Floral and decorative motifs


5i

IIA


222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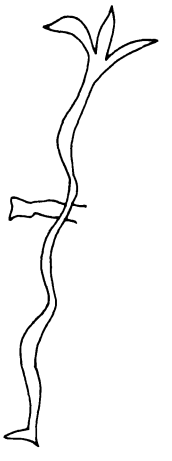
III


15

IIA


56

IIB


23


52

III


13

IIB


71

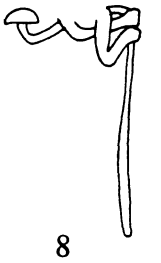

90

IIA


107

IIB


115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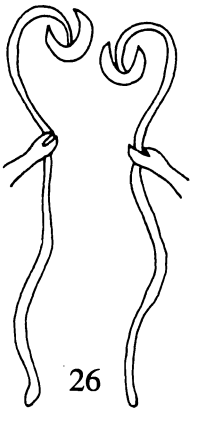

26

III


88

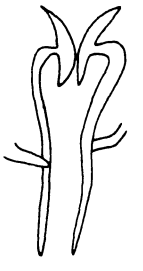

12


13


29


28

III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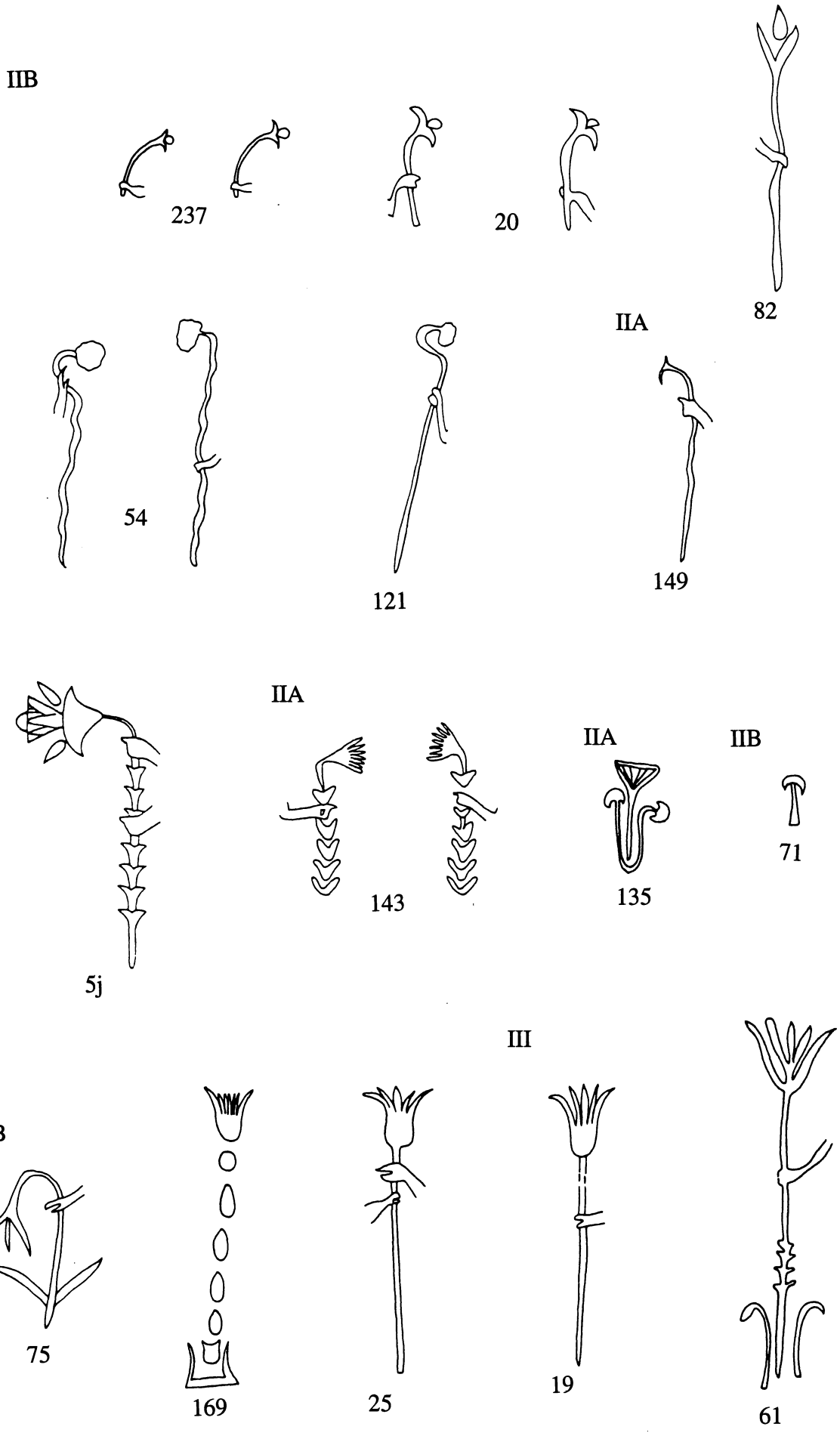
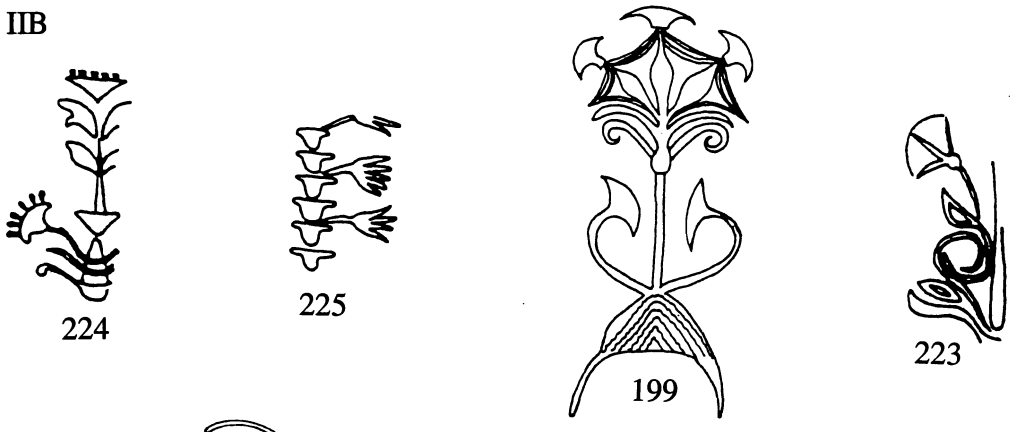
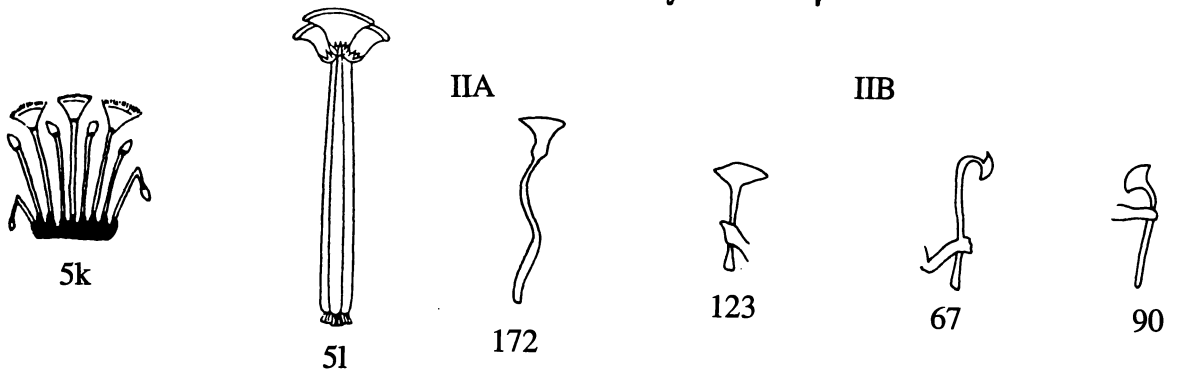
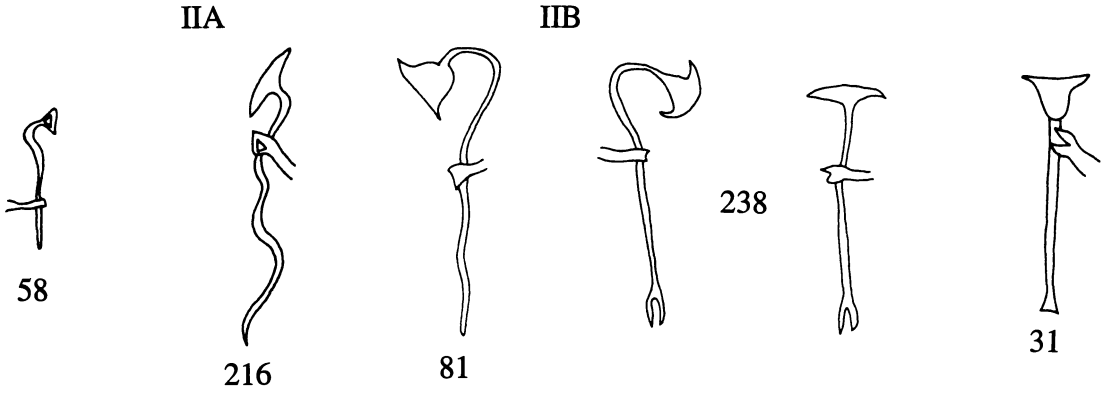
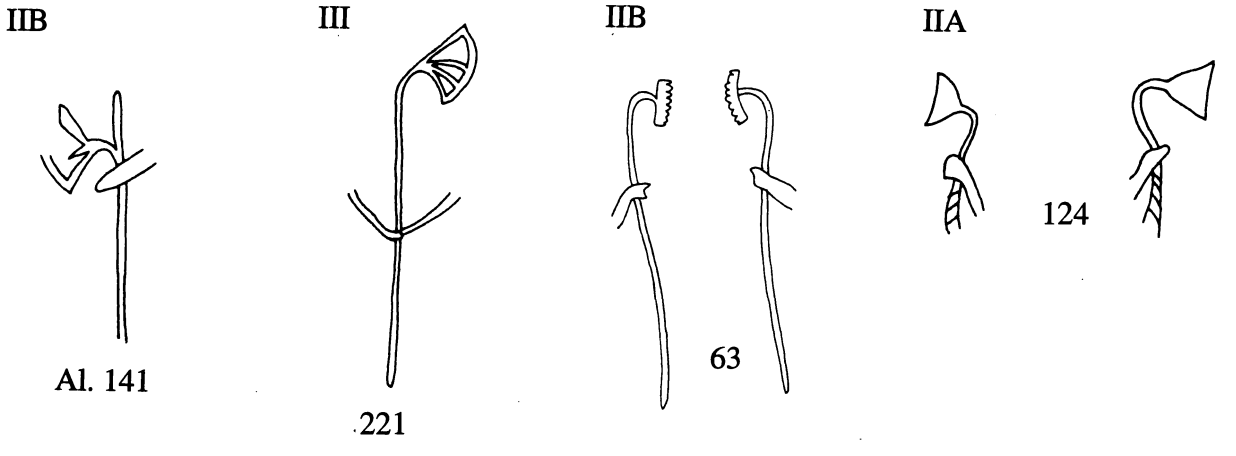

IIB
237
20
82
IIA
54
121
149
IIA
IIA
IIB
143
135
71
5j
III
IIB
75
169
25
19
61


IIB
224
225
199
223

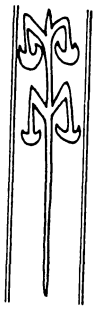

5k
51
IIA
172
IIB
123
67
90


IIA
IIB
58
216
81
238
31


IIB
III
IIB
IIA
Al. 141
221
63
124

5m

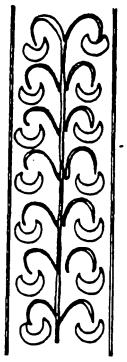
IIA



136

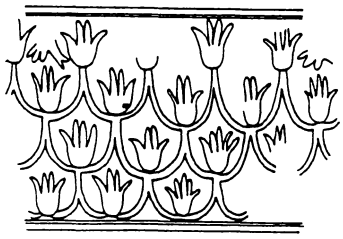
IIB

226



227

IIB



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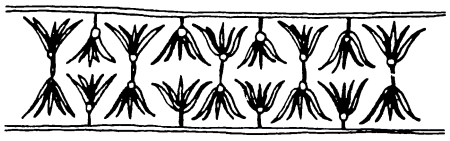

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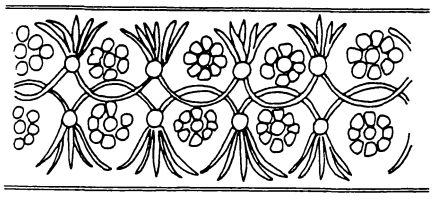

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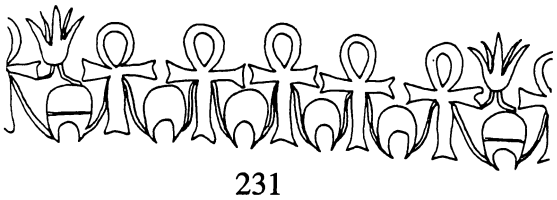
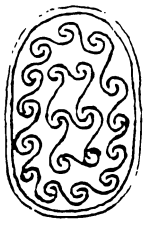


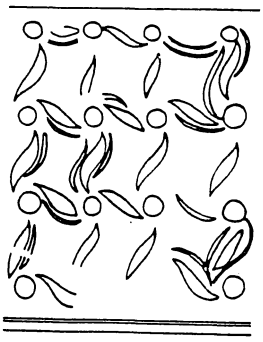
231

IIB



5n

227



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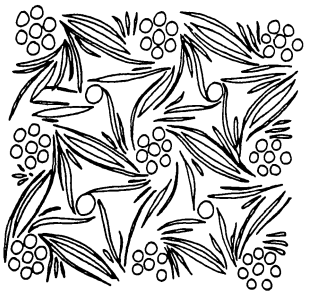


232

When used as a symbol (**11**, **51**, **85**, **106**, **153**, **174**, **240**), whether in an Egyptianising context or otherwise, the cartouche is either blank or contains indistinct, spurious signs or symbols. Forms vary from a careful emulation of an Egyptian model (**85**, **153**, **238**) to an oval drilling (**11**, **106**, **174**). The pedestal base with and without grooves on **85** and **240** is found on XIIth and XIIIth Dynasty scarabs (Tufnell 1984: e.g. Pls. LII: nos. 3060, 3063; LIII: no. 3077; LIV: no, 3131).

For the *tjet* (**5b**) see 'The *ankh* and other symbols' in Chapter 5.

The *djed* (**5c**, **5d**)

The *djed*s on Syro-Levantine seals have wider transverse arms than is usual in Egypt, and the proportions of the motif can be wholly distorted (e.g. **34**, **109**).

For the *wḏȝt* eye (**5e**), the head on a standard (**5f**, **5g**) and the adze (**5h**) see 'The *ankh* and other symbols' in Chapter 5 (pp. 104ff).

6.1.15 Floral and decorative motifs

The lotus appears to be the predominant plant in bud, flower and leaf form, occuring with different types of stems as staves, offerings or elements of trees. The leaf resembles a thick crescent (cf. Moens 1984: 22, Pl. VIII: 2.1.1.2: **5i**). The floral head can also appear as an individual motif (e.g. **135**). The papyrus (**5k**, **5l**) is represented in two ways. The most common form is the umbel on a straight or curved stem seen in profile or a rare foreshortened view? showing only the curved umbel rays of the edge of the plant (**63**) (cf. Moens 1984: 23–4, Pl. VIII: 2.2.3). As mentioned in Chapter 5 the species of the plants, staves or floral groups can be unclear (e.g. **54**, **58**, **67**, **121**). Some staves have a floral tip and a *was*-like forked end (**238**), whereas the tip of **149** is more *was*-like than floral.

6.1.16 Animals (heron, lapwing, apes)

The heron

The bird is most realistically represented and closest to the Egyptian type (**5o**) on **131** (Gardiner 1978: Sign List: G31). On **134** he is more stylised. The bird on **177** has a heron-like crest, but is otherwise unrelated.

The lapwing

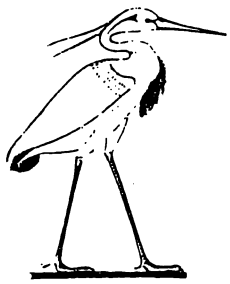
The characteristics of the lapwing – a round head with a short bill, a thick, squarish tail and a wispy crest (Houlihan 1986: 93–5: no. 48) – apply to the birds on e.g. **86**, **134**, **208**. They can be compared both to the raised- and closed-wing type in Egypt (**2t**, **5p**) but not to the type with human arms. The stance and wings of the bird on **86**, **134**, **208** is close to the Egyptian hieroglyph for the bird with raised wings. On **234** and **235**, the birds have lapwing-like crests but wear crowns, attributes of the Horus hawk.

Apes (**2u**, **5e**, **5q**)

The monkeys are round-faced with a flat snout and small ears close to the head. They have slender bodies of varying sizes and generally long tails, which may be erect or fall downwards. On rare occasions the tail is very small. They sit supported by their tails, with one or both front paws raised, or less commonly, they stand with knees slightly bent. The baboon? (**136** right), has a thickset nape and large, heavy brow. It, too, is seated. A third animal with a round face and a long snout, pronounced pricked ears, a slender body and an erect tail (e.g. **84**) occurs in identical attitudes to the monkeys. This animal has not been identified: it has some of the facial features and the ears of the jerboa or of the fox and the jackal but not the fore-limbs or tail.[1] Its stance is characteristic of a leaping or springing animal. It is referred to as the 'jerboa' below and I treat it with the monkey. Only a selection of monkeys and 'jerboas' from the corpus is illustrated here, with an emphasis on the Egyptianising type. The iconography of the seated monkey on Levantine glyptic relates primarily to Cappadocian and Mesopotamian

1 See Collon 1986: 45–6 for this type of animal on Old Babylonian seals. Vandier 1964: Fig. 445 shows the 'jerboa' with its characteristically small forelimbs. Fox and jackal tails are thick and bushy and do not stand erect.

Animals


5o

IIA


131


134


5p

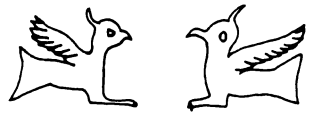
IIA


133


208

IIB


86


153

IIA


134


195


234

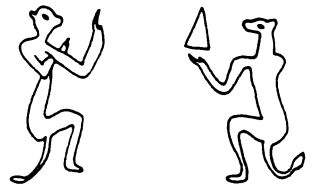

235

IIA


5q


136


84


143

III


219

IIB


145

III


219

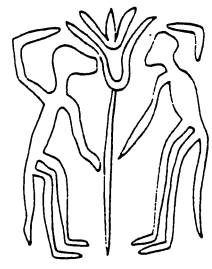

62

III


218


220


60


236

representations from the early second millennium,[2] which in turn relate only in a general way to Egyptian representations: monkeys are similarly seated or hold a vessel.[3] The derivation of the motif of the monkey seated on a stool holding a baton or a pipe, as on **145** and **219**, could be Egyptian as much as Western Asiatic.[4] Specific parallels with Egyptian iconography, however, do occur on Levantine glyptic: the monkeys or 'jerboas' appear in pairs (e.g. **143**, **170**) (Vandier 1966b: Fig. 16), worshipping (**143**) (**2d**) standing (e.g. **60**, **136**, **218**, **220**), dancing or smiting (**236**) (Vandier 1966b: Fig. 47).

6.2 MISCELLANEOUS EGYPTIANISING FIGURES
(see Chapter 5)

6.3 SYRO-LEVANTINE FIGURES WITH EGYPTIANISING ATTRIBUTES AND ATTITUDES
(see Chapter 5)

6.4 IMAGINARY FIGURES WITH EGYPTIANISING ATTRIBUTES AND ATTITUDES

Anthropomorphic hawk-headed and other demons

The Egyptianising attributes shared by these figures are their head-dresses, staves (**179**) and wings (**10**). The originally Egyptian nature of the hawk and ram-headed figures is evoked by such attributes even though the wings and attitudes of the figures are otherwise Levantine. The Hathor crown (**259**), the *atef*? (**258**), the triple (**57**) and the ram's horns and floral (**257**, **261**) head-dresses have been encountered above on straightforwardly Egyptianising figures like the Pharaoh, the Egyptian goddess (e.g. **96**, **100**), the solar hawk or sphinx (e.g. **132**, **133**, **146**) as well as partially Egyptianising ones, such as the winged anthropomorphic ram (**106**).

Figures with Egyptianising wings

These figures have one Egyptianising attribute in common: diagonally opened wings. This protective attitude is typefied by and may be derived from the iconography of Isis and Nephthys (**1i**) or the winged goddesses (see Chapter 5). The wings are given as attributes to figures with Egyptianising head-dresses (e.g. **262**, **265**, **266**: Workshop B) and demons (**3**, **106**), and to non-Egyptianising figures and demons (e.g. **267**, **268**).

6.5 UNUSUAL MIDDLE KINGDOM ICONOGRAPHY ON SYRO-LEVANTINE GLYPTIC

The assessment of what might plausibly be an Egyptian prototype without contemporary Egyptian parallels is outside the competence of a non-Egyptologist. I thus provide only summary examples of possible contenders for this category, in the hope that Egyptologists will address the subject elsewhere.

Possible contenders are:

1) The iconography of Isis, which was fluid in the Middle Kingdom. Syro-Levantine seals show a goddess with Egyptianising wings and or a horns and disc head-dress in the Middle Bronze Age (**27**, **28**, **127** see also **126**). If based on an Egyptian prototype, this iconography implies that the assimilation of Hathor and Isis iconography occurred during the Middle Kingdom.

2) The figure of the lion god (**5**), who is known only from theophoric names in the Middle Kingdom.

3) The motif of the sphinx treading on snakes, best exemplified by **142**. This tentative suggestion is made on the

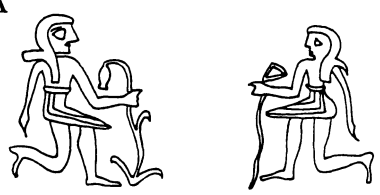
2 Cappadocia: e.g. Özgüç 1965: 60: Pl. III: no. 10, Pl. V: no. 13, Pl. XVIII: no. 55, Pl. XX; Marcopoli: nos. 420, 422, 423, 426; Collon 1986: nos. 257, 302, 363. For a discussion of the monkey on Old Babylonian seals see Collon 1986: 45–6.

3 E.g. Vandier 1964b: Figs. 25, 27; 1965: Figs. 5–7, Fig. 21f (holding a cup); 1966: Figs. 30–2 (eating). These are domestic monkeys.

4 E.g. Vandier 1986b: Fig. 4 (on stool); 1964: Figs. 31–3 (with batons); but see Parker 1955: 116–17; Collon 1986: no. 367.

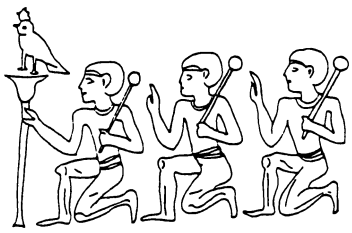
Miscellaneous Egyptianising figures

IIA



174

IIB



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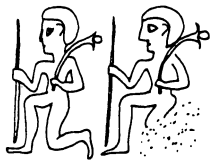
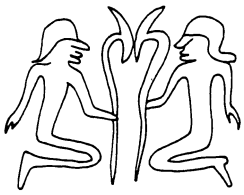


237

III



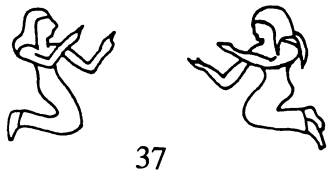
236

5r

IIA

86

IIB



37

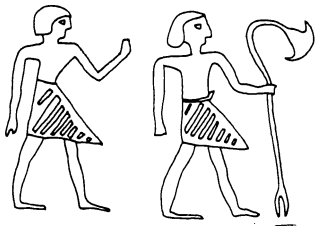
III

15

IIA

27

IIB



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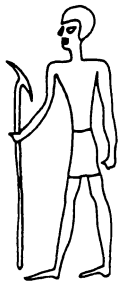
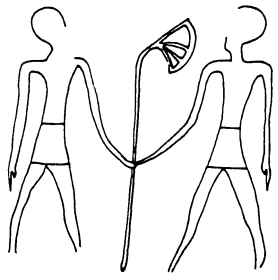


71

III



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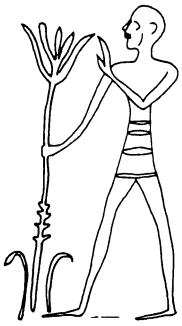

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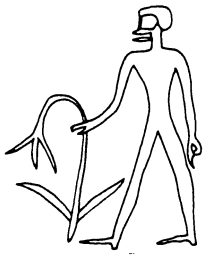


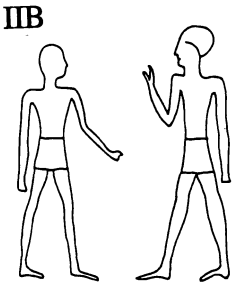
75

IIB

32

217

IIB



226

III

220

236

IIB

239

Syro-Levantine figures with Egyptianising attributes

I-IIA

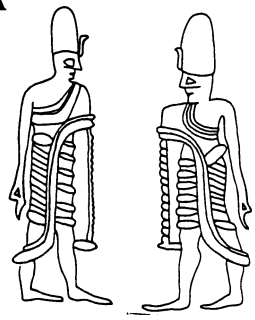
241

IIA

41

242

IIA



243

IIB

240

110

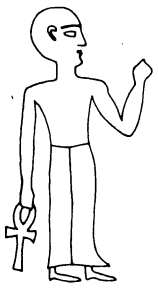
IIA

244

245

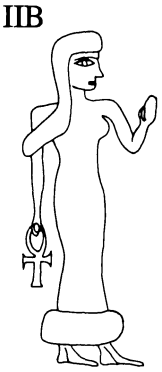
260

IIA



65

IIB



85

105

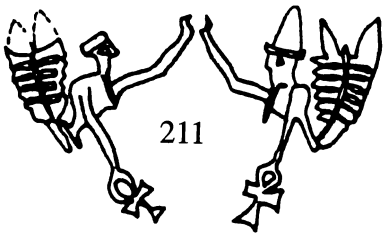
IIA

212

259

IIB

169



211

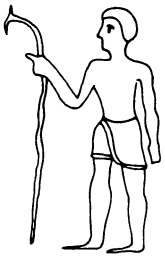
IIA

216

IIB

183

IIA



149

216

IIB

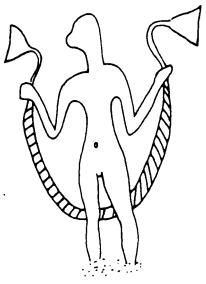
90

58

81

88

IIA

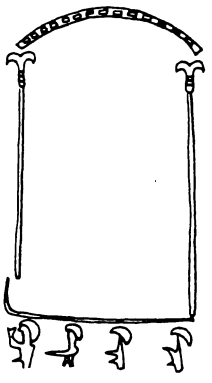


124

222

143

IIA



246

basis of these sphinxes' affinity with New Kingdom solar and apotropaic sphinxes. Parallels with the pantheistic sphinx Tutu, known from the Late Period, cannot be used as supporting evidence for the Egyptian origin of the motif on **142**. The sphinxes' tails, with *djed* appendages, are to be noted.

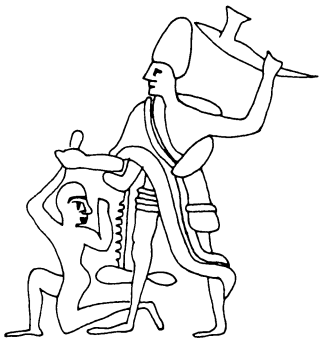
Details of costume – the possible triple crown (**57**), the wig combined with the head-cloth (?) (**12**) and fringed kilts (e.g. **28**) – which have been conventionally attributed to the New Kingdom are also found in the corpus. Complex ram's horns and floral crowns are also to be noted, but in these cases the distinction between what is based on an Egyptian prototype and what is merely Egyptianising is made more complex by the manner in which these crowns were sometimes schematically rendered and shared by various subjects (goddesses, hawks, griffins: Chapters 5 and 6). The Hathor head as opposed to the Bat-head symbol, the lion-demon ('Bes') and the *atef* crown otherwise supplement the Middle Kingdom iconographic record from Egypt.

Syro-Levantine figures with Egyptianising attitudes

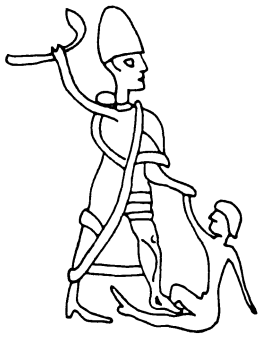
IIA

247

IIB



248



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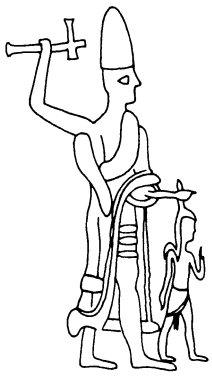
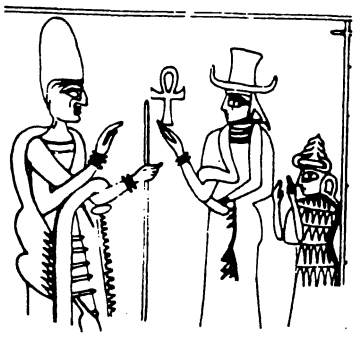


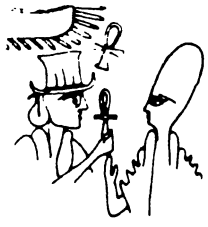
250

252



253

185

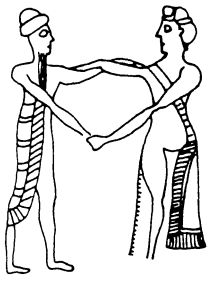


22

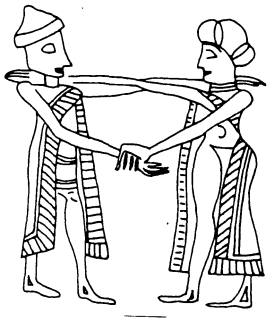
251

210

IIA



254



255

Imaginary figures with Egyptianising attributes and attitudes

IIA

179

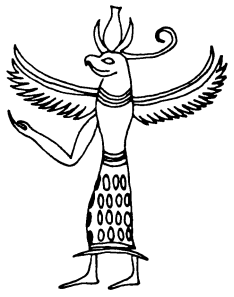
IIB

92

256

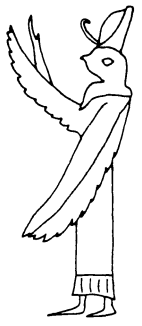
10

57



258

III



3

IIA

257

260

259

179

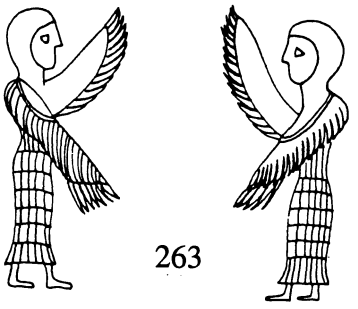
IIA

106

261

IIA

262



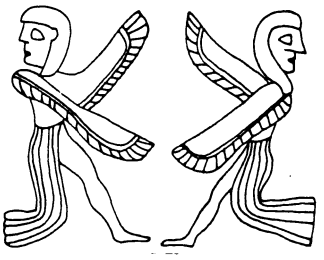
263

IIB

264

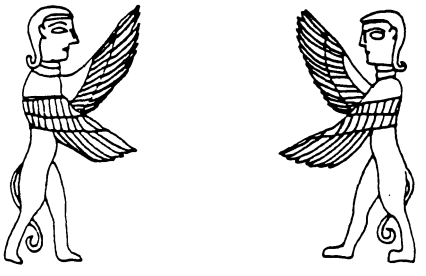
IIA

265



266

267



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7 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

One of the consequences of the political stability and independence from outside intervention that prevailed in Syria during the Middle Bronze Age until *c.* 1600 BC was an autonomous glyptic tradition. This is exemplified by the majority of the Syrian seals reviewed in this study. The far smaller cylinder-seal evidence from the Lebanon and Palestine again reflects these regions' political and cultural status quo: strong Egyptian cultural influence in the Lebanon and a more ambivalent situation in Palestine.

Syrian glyptic iconography was largely a coherent, if eclectic, system with a repertoire of core figures and themes with and around which seal-cutters created a vivid imagery. Egyptian iconography constitutes *c.* 14 per cent (figures) and 1.01 per cent (symbols) of the total repertoire of published Middle Bronze Age seals, significantly more than other foreign elements, such as Mesopotamian or Anatolian. Given the contacts between Egypt and Syro-Palestine during the Middle Bronze Age (early XIIth Dynasty onwards) and the eclecticism that distinguishes ancient Syrian glyptic, exposure to Egyptian and Egyptianising iconography could hardly have been other than influential. The impact of Egyptian iconography was not indiscriminate, however, and the question of selection, which is partly linked to the role of Egyptian iconography in Syro-Levantine glyptic, will be returned to below. The possible evidence for Middle Kingdom iconography revealed by Syrian glyptic has been mentioned on p. 212 and need not be repeated here.

Egyptian and Egyptianising iconography in this corpus of Syro-Levantine Middle Bronze Age seals is manifested in three principal ways: as Egyptian scenes (e.g. cult scenes) in Syro-Levantine contexts; as Egyptian figures in Syro-Levantine contexts and as Egyptian and Egyptianising characteristics (attributes, postures) adopted by Syro-Levantine figures. The second category is by far the most frequent. This is significant, as much for what it tells us about the nature of Syrian glyptic (see Chapter 4) as for the role of Egyptian iconography in it. As far as may be assessed from the visual record alone, the emphasis appears to have been on the integration of certain Egyptian figures and motifs (not necessarily accurately) in a coherent Syro-Levantine glyptic context, rather than on a 'translation' or adaptation of them. The Egyptianisation of figures is again less frequent.

The impact of Egyptian iconography was minimal on Syrian royal seals, with the exception of a seal of a king of Tuba (**68**). This is highly significant for what it clearly implies about the apolitical nature of the impact of Egyptian imagery in Syria. In the Levant, the seal of an unidentified ruler with Egyptian titles and epithets is highly Egyptianised (**77**), but without proper context it is difficult to evaluate the extent to which this iconography might imply political influence. Judging from the example of Byblos, however, where the title *haty-a* was also used by its rulers, emulation and cultural influence are the more likely option. The iconography of other Group C seals inscribed with hieroglyphs in cartouches reflects the ambivalent political and cultural status of Palestine with regard to Egypt and the Delta. The iconography of these seals is individual and significantly different from north-Syrian royal iconography, and emphasises male rather than female patronage.

Egyptian iconography was widespread on the inscribed seals of Syrian officials and on uninscribed seals, which presumably belonged to ordinary people. Little can be said on the basis of present textual evidence about the specific ownership of uninscribed seals showing Egyptian elements, but the overall impression is that such seals were not the monopoly of a specific group or groups of people. From Period IIA onwards, Egyptian iconography was integrated irrespective of workshops and style, although certain workshops (e.g. B) treat Egyptian elements in an idiosynchratic manner. One Levantine group (C) shows greater Egyptianising iconography and symbolism because of its closer geographical and cultural proximity to Egypt.

Egyptian iconography made an strong impact in three areas fundamental to Syro-Levantine iconography: the representation of rulers, of patron goddesses and of scenes with animals and imaginary beings, which may illustrate 'nature religion' or 'mythology'. Certain symbols were widely adopted but modified. Egyptian iconography was also instrumental in creating new iconographies. The former points will be reviewed first.

THE EGYPTIAN KING

The Egyptian king or Pharaoh appears to have had multiple roles in Syro-Levantine iconography as ruler, deified ruler, Weather god, etc. (see Chapter 5), but he is primarily represented in contexts that identify him as a ruler. The depiction of different types of kings (see Chapter 4) was the most common theme of Syro-Levantine glyptic iconography, and a whole iconographical repertoire with multiple meanings was developed to represent different

aspects of such figures. The reason for this can be plausibly linked to the political status quo of Middle Bronze Age Syria: a system of multiple city-states, each with its own ruler in fluid coalition with each other, where great importance was attached to the role of the king as the dispenser of justice and mediator between vassals (Wiseman 1953; Munn-Rankin 1956; Klengel 1974); to his relationship with his city and personal gods (Lambert 1985), and to the royal ancestor cult (Finkelstein 1966; Lambert 1969; Bayliss 1973; Tsukimoto 1985; Durand and Charpin 1986; Durand 1988). The Egyptian Pharaoh was a ruler of great secular and religious authority who could not be ignored in the Levant of the Middle Bronze Age; but in Syrian glyptic he was integrated apolitically into an iconographical system that reflected purely west-Semitic notions of kingship in roles that parallel those of Syrian rulers. The Egyptian king is never shown on Syrian royal seals, nor are Syrian rulers ever shown subject to him. As stated above, the situation in the southern Levant was more ambivalent. In Syrian iconography it is possible that the Egyptian king's image could in some contexts have symbolised 'Egypt', in the same way that the 'Figure or King with a mace' might have represented Mesopotamia, but there is no way of demonstrating this. The multiple roles played by the Pharaoh figure in Syrian iconography argue against this, however. Representations of the Pharaoh in Egyptian cult contexts are rare and can be attributed to an emulation of an Egyptian or already Egyptianising image, for its exotic or even merely decorative value.

DEITIES AND PATRONAGE

The popularity of Egyptian goddessses in the Syro-Levantine repertoire may be explained by their role in both royal ideology and popular religion. They were assimilated as royal patronesses and as nature goddesses, and like the Pharaoh, they had Syro-Levantine and/or Mesopotamian counterparts (e.g. the Suppliant goddess) in these roles. The goddess with the cow's horns and solar disc head-dress was dominant as patroness, and in this role the goddess may have retained her identity as Hathor. This was not strictly 'official' iconography, for the goddess never appears as a patroness on royal seals, unlike the Mesopotamian goddess. The Hathor-head symbol is also predictably associated with rulers, but less commonly than the goddess herself. (See below for Egyptianising goddesses in 'nature religion'.)

The assimilation of Egyptian gods is in marked contrast to that of the Pharaoh or the goddesses: the male state gods of Egypt found no permanent place in the Syrian iconographical pantheon. Horus or a Horus-like god appears only once on a Syrian royal seal (**68**, Tuba), and only a limited number of times as a patron or royal symbol on seals depicting rulers. In the role of patron, Horus had no obvious counterpart in Syro-Levantine iconography, and there is nothing to indicate an identification with the Storm god, the predominant male royal patron in Syria. The supremacy of the Storm god perhaps explains the limited popularity of Horus as a royal patron, and of the rare representations of other Egyptian gods. His influence however did extend to 'nature religion'. An iconographical affinity with Horus is also shown by Hawk-headed deities in Group C and related seals, but the identity of these deities is unknown. With the exception of Horus and Khnum, whose role, except on **77**, was in 'nature religion' and not in political ideology, and whose identity in these contexts was probably not Egyptian, the representations of Egyptian gods are limited to single instances, on seals that were privately commissioned (**68**, **77**) or that may have been directly inspired by an Egyptian source.

'NATURE RELIGION' OR SCENES WITH IMAGINARY BEINGS

The Egyptian subjects that had a significant impact on Syro-Palestinian iconography of 'nature religion' and possibly 'mythology' were goddesses, 'Horus', 'Khnum' and the sphinx. The adoption of Egyptian attributes by Syro-Levantine mythological figures is another aspect of this impact. Goddesses wearing various Egyptian and Egyptianising head-dresses, or winged in the manner of Isis and Nephthys, are found in numerous scenes with imaginary beings or 'nature' contexts. This is because they were compatible or could be identified with existing Syro-Levantine deities, such as the Nude goddess, or with other figures in such scenes (e.g. **93**, **106**, **123**, **124**). The Hathor-head symbol also expresses this link with nature: as a life-giver, dispensing *ankh*s or as a tree goddess (**22**, **202**). Horus and Khnum, hawk and ram-headed, again could be perceived as nature gods. The former was the probable inspiration for the development of the winged Hawk-headed deity/ies with Syro-Palestinian identities (e.g. **257**). Khnum is only rarely represented, but he is often indirectly evoked by his horns, which were worn as a crown (e.g. **41**). Like Horus, he was transformed by the addition of wings (e.g. **106**).

The impact of the sphinx in Syro-Levantine iconography was undoubtedly one of the strongest. The sphinx had various roles, some of which are close to its Egyptian nature (solar, apotropaic), but it was also the earliest subject to have been adapted both to a foreign context, by its association with a tree, and further Levantinised and 'mythologised' by the addition of erect wings. The motif of the sphinx treading on snakes, which seems very Egyptian on some seals (**142**) and which may originally have been Egyptian, was accommodated into the mythological *milieu* both as an animal and as an apotropaic symbol.

Other Egyptian animal subjects – the vulture, the hawk (see below for these as 'royal' symbols), the heron and the lapwing – appear, but less commonly, in nature contexts. Egyptian attributes adopted by the Nude goddess, heroes and demons are not random but serve to express additional aspects of the figure or to emphasise links between one figure and another. Thus, for example, griffins and the water hero adopt the Hathor crown (**163**, **164**, **242**). The former was to express their feminine aspects and their link with the tree, and the latter with life-giving and water. An attribute not linked to its original source, the splayed wings of Isis and Nephthys, or of Nekhbet, but linked to the general concept of protection are adopted by heroes and lion-demons (e.g. **267**, **268**).

SYMBOLS

It is unlikely that Egyptianising symbolic groupings, such as apes flanking a solar symbol in the sky, the Hathor head associated with lions or sphinxes, or sphinxes associated with a solar or stellar symbol (**143**, **150**, **154**), which are integrated into Syro-Levantine contexts, were intended to convey Egyptian concepts. An understanding of elements of complex Egyptian symbolism beyond centres that were in direct contact with Egypt, like Byblos, was unlikely, although an awareness of aspects of Egyptian religion may have existed in relevant trading centres where the movements of people and goods was the greatest. Such Egyptianising motifs on glyptic more probably echoed or complemented a Syro-Levantine concept, or were considered suitable for the context. Other Egyptian symbols, like the Horus hawk or the Nekhbet vulture, were incorporated into the repertoire in various guises, from 'royal' symbols to animals of the field. The winged sun disc and the *ankh* were the most widely adopted of Egyptian symbols. But whereas the winged sun disc appears to have been quickly translated into a Syrian symbol, the significance of the *ankh* in Syro-Levantine glyptic appears to have been close to that in Egypt. Other popular symbols in Egyt – the *djed*, which was often associated with the *ankh*, and the *wḏȝt* eye – had considerably less impact than the *ankh* in Syro-Palestine. These motifs clearly did not strike a chord in the symbolic or artistic 'vocabulary' of the seal-cutters. The adze, an artefact specifically associated with funerary ritual in Egypt, occurs only once in the corpus (**183**). Such an example may be explained by a limited exposure to this type of iconography, and also by the fact that such a symbol would not have been understood and, in this case, was seen as a type of ritual weapon.

The creation of new images as the result of the impact of Egyptian iconography and the adoption of Egyptian and Egyptianising attributes by Levantine figures remains to be discussed. Both phenomena are far less frequent than might be expected. Certain elements of Egyptian iconography, notably crowns, appear to have exercised the imagination of the seal-cutters – but not indiscriminately. The rams' horns and the *atef* crowns were preferred, probably because of their horns. Thus types or variations of rams'-horn crowns are found on goddesses, hawks and griffins. Other head-dresses, such as types of floral crowns (e.g. **101**, **104**) may have been inspired by Egyptian prototypes, or simply made to look 'Egyptian'. But an element of coherence exists, for such Egyptianising crowns are most often found on figures who belong to the same 'circle': e.g. griffins and certain goddesses between whom there is a link. The creation of Levantine Egyptianising goddesses, possibly related to the types depicted in New Kingdom Egypt, was another probable outcome of this phenomenon, but is difficult prove. The 'artistry' of seal-cutters must also not be forgotten in this creative process: on seal **132**, for example, the hawk and the sphinx wear similar solar crowns. Even though these are appropriate crowns for these animals, on this seal the crowns may have been chosen simply because they matched. Egyptian symbols could also be adapted in a manner that was implausible in terms of Egyptian iconography, but which nevertheless incorporated Egyptian concepts, as, for example, the tree growing out of a winged Hathor head (**202**). This is a new image, but to my knowledge unique, and solely the product of the seal-cutter's imagination.

Thus the creation of new images, which is different from giving a new, but plausible, attribute to an already existing subject, as a result of the impact of Egyptian iconography, has so far proven to be limited. This rarity is telling in itself and it strengthens the argument not only for the general coherence of the Syrian seal-cutters vocabulary of images, but also for their generally rational approach to Egyptian iconography.

A wide range of other Egyptian figures and motifs were adopted for purposes that can only be described as decorative, such as floral motifs, or 'exotic' such as floral staves, uraei on rulers' caps, and the kiosk. These

could introduce variety or flexibility into a scene, but the use of such devices was not standard practice and there is no evidence that Egyptian iconography was used to relieve common place Syrian scenes. Nor do these features constitute trends or schools of Egyptian 'influence': only in the case of the floral motifs can these be linked to a specific workshop (E). The Egyptianising mannerism that is characteristic of Workshop B is again unique.

Thus Egyptian iconography was absorbed at different levels in Syro-Levantine glyptic: from the 'significant' to the merely decorative; but it is important to stress what may appear obvious: that by its very nature Egyptian imagery, whatever its role in Syro-Levantine iconography, was always decorative. First and foremost it was not 'imported' to fill a vacuum in Syrian imagery: rather, Syrian iconography expanded to include figures and images which on the one hand could be coherently accommodated into its repertoire – that is, figures which echoed or complemented others in the system – or which could influence already existing ones. Random and decorative elements exist, but they are in a minority. The degree of transformation of non-random figures and symbols, judged by visual context alone, was varied and was partly the result of an autonomous seal-carving tradition. Regrettably, there is not sufficient Egyptianising material in other mediums for a comparative assessment, nor is the contemporary art record in Syria sufficient enough to ascertain properly the extent of its relation to glyptic. The poor textual references to religious and other imagery again hamper interpretation and the names given locally to Egyptian and Egyptianising subjects in the Middle Bronze Age remain unknown.[1] The glyptic record gives no evidence of Syro-Levantine religious beliefs having been displaced by Egyptian ones, nor is there evidence of the adoption of religious rituals, even though comparable ritual gestures may occur (see Chapter 3).

The strength of the impact of Egyptian iconography on Syro-Levantine cylinder seals is to be attributed primarily to the wealth of Egyptian imagery, available in the region through a variety of sources, some second-hand, and in the case of Syria and the northen Levant, at least, not to political or religious influences. Even though the assimilation of Egyptian iconography was only one aspect of the general creative eclecticism of Syro-Levantine seal-cutters, it was the most pervasive and is the earliest comprehensive testimony of the attraction of Egyptian imagery, if not of 'Egyptomania'. In these secure regions, Egypt's power and prestige could be perceived primarily through its imagery, which inspired, but which was integrated, manipulated and ultimately controlled rather than emulated.

1 Limet suggests that the Akkadian word for cross (*ipalurtu*), a symbol engraved on vases and a dish from Iamhad in Mari, may have signified the *ankh* (Limet 1985: 513, n. 9) but this is highly speculative.

APPENDIX A

ALPHABETIC INDEX OF EGYPTIAN SUBJECTS

AMUN-RE

Amun was the pre-eminent deity of the Egyptian pantheon from the early Middle Kingdom down to the late XVIIIth Dynasty, when he became part of a supreme foursome of Amun, Re, Ptah and Seth. Amun's essential nature was that of a creator and a sustainer. Both he and Re were intimately connected to the Pharaoh who was considered to be their son (Hornung 1982: 219–20; Otto 1975: 243–4).

Iconography

Amun's characteristic manifestation was anthropomorphic, with two plumes on a cap (**1b**), or less commonly the *atef* or double crowns. The ram was one of Amun's sacred animals, and his other principal manifestations, in a solar aspect, are in human form with a ram's head with curved horns, as a ram or as a sphinx with a ram's head. When in this guise he is often shown with a solar disc, with and without uraei, and with or without horizontal horns (**3v**). When anthropomorphic, Amun wears the Egyptian male deities' standard costume (Otto 1975: 238–9; 1966: Pls. 41a, 48). Re-Harakhte is also sometimes attested as ram-headed with a solar disc head-dress, with or without horizontal horns (David 1981: e.g. 63: 3, 67: 17).

ANKH (**4t–w**)

The Egyptian symbol of life, traditionally thought to be derived from a knot, tie or sandal-strap (Gardiner 1978: Sign List S34; Derchain 1978: 268–9) can also be compared to the penis sheath (Baines 1975: 1–24) (**4v**).

BAT

Bat was the cow goddess of the 7th Upper Egyptian nome, on whom written and pictorial sources are relatively scant (Fischer 1975: 630–2). Her identity was overshadowed by an assimilation with Hathor. On Middle Kingdom pectorals, Bat was represented with a bird-like plumage and associated with solar symbols (Aldred 1978: 39: Fig. 5o; Feucht-Putz 1967: nos. 9, 10). Any links this goddess would have had with solar mythology would probably be through her identification with Hathor (Fischer 1975: 631–2).

CARTOUCHE (e.g. **2a**, **2e**, **2n**, **4o**)

The cartouche (*shen*) was an oval loop formed by a double thickness of rope with tied ends splaying horizontally on either side (Gardiner 1978: 74, Sign List V10: **5a**). The juncture between the ring and the base was subject to elaboration. The cartouche enclosed the throne name of the king and his birth name. The latter was preceded by the title 'son of Re', above the cartouche (Gardiner 1978: 74; Kaplony 1980: 610–14). The enclosing loop had apotropaic power, as did other closed or circular symbols (cf. *shen, sa*) (Kaplony 1980: 610). On monumental reliefs, the cartouche depending on the composition of the scene, is placed either directly above the king's head, before or behind his crown (Arnold 1974: Pl. 18; Fig. 18a (**1o**, **2n**)), by his legs or in the middle ground before him (Bisson de la Roque 1937: Figs. 32, 37, 38; Mond 1940: Pl. LXXXVIII). The base of the cartouche normally faces the king. The cartouche can occur directly under the winged sun disc (Radwan 1975: Dok. 3, 5, 11, 13, 17, 18 (**2l**), 19, 20). It also occurs with various other solar and royal motifs, in different combinations (Radwan 1975: Dok. 24, 28, 38–46, mostly Late Period).

CHILD

The major iconographical source for children is from tomb paintings from the Old and the New Kingdoms. Middle Kingdom sources are relatively few. The children are often naked but can be variously dressed in kilts or shifts. The hair can be close-cropped, and is most commonly worn in a side-lock but a back-lock, several locks, and girls in wigs are also found (Feucht 1980: 426–7). The side-lock, a symbol of pre-puberty childhood, is also a royal and divine hairstyle (Müller 1980: 273–4). Children are normally associated with their parents: boys are often beside their fathers, girls beside their mothers or with their siblings (Lepsius 1849: II e.g. Pls. 8, 16–19, 23, 24, 36, 40). In the Old Kingdom, the contexts in which children appear are more restricted than in the New Kingdom. In funerary contexts which show the descendent's family, boys stand feet astride, their arms wrapped around their father's staff or leg, or extended to hold a staff. The other arm hangs empty or holds a bird or a flower. Sometimes both arms hang empty. Girls usually have one arm folded and the other hanging straight

down, empty or holding a bird or flower. They also appear in hunting and fishing scenes (Wreszinski 1936: Pl. 106, 116) (**4h**). In the New Kingdom children are shown in a variety of domestic and recreational contexts (Wreszinski 1923: e.g. Pl. 2a). The traditional finger-to-mouth gesture, symbolising youth, is found in these representations, but is not ubiquitous.

Royal Children (**1d, 1p**)

Known mostly from the New Kingdom, and particularly from the mid-eighteenth Dynasty onwards, royal children are represented with greater variety and in both divine and secular contexts. The children can be naked or dressed, in kilts or shifts, or in royal regalia (Vandier 1964: 536–44: Figs. 289–94). The royal child is frequently shown as a young adult, only slightly smaller than the deity or secular figure beside him. They sit on deities', parents', tutors' or nurses' knees (Vandier 1964: 536–44: Figs. 289–90, 293, 294), or on a deity's proffered hand (e.g. David 1981: 22 LRC; Gayet 1894: Pl. XXVII). They are suckled by goddesses (David 1981: 22 LRB), or appear in active poses: playing, hunting or being taught to shoot a bow (Vandier 1964: Fig. 291; N. de G. Davies 1905: Pl. XVIII; 1908: Pls. IV, XXIX). The side-lock is more frequent on royal than non-royal children, as is the finger-to-mouth gesture (**1p**).

Levantine Children (**1q, 4i**)

These are chiefly known from New Kingdom Theban tomb paintings (e.g. **1q**, **4i**; Na. de G. Davies 1963: Pl. XXII). Middle Kingdom examples are confined to Beni Hasan (Newberry 1893: Pl. XXX) and Sinai (Gardiner, Peet and Černý 1955: Pl. XXXVII). The children appear in secular contexts, in processions as part of trading or tribute-bearing parties, or as captives. Although stylised in the Egyptian fashion, the children are depicted with the same degree of accuracy as their Levantine parents, or as other foreigners, who are carefully distinguished by their dress and hairstyle. The younger children are naked; the older ones are dressed in Levantine kilts, shifts or dresses. Closely cropped or short hair, a short or long back-lock, and for girls long hair falling in strands, are characteristic. There is insufficient evidence to be able to ascribe differences in hairstyle to regional variations or to social conventions.

COBRA

The Pyramid texts refer to the 'serpent goddess of Nekheb who wears the White crown' as an uraeus goddess (Faulkner 1969: 900, 902). The latter was a major symbol of Egyptian sovreignty. The cobra as an attribute of Nekhbet and Wadjet could also symbolise Upper or Lower Egypt. Thus cobras, as solar and royal symbols, were an ubiquitous motif of regalia. Wearing white or red crowns, or solar crowns, they are represented draped around heraldic lotus and papyrus staves (**2h**) crowns (David 1981: 38 UR, LR) the solar disc, cartouches (**1i, 4o**) or more rarely alone and erect (see below). See Hathor for the identification of Hathor as an uraeus goddess.

DJED (**5c, 5d**)

The hieroglyph of duration and stability (Gardiner 1978: Sign List: R11; Altenmüller 1975: 1103).

FLORAL MOTIFS (**5i, 5j, 5k, 5l**)

The use of flowers as offerings or symbols was a major feature of Egyptian temple rituals, religious festivals and the royal and mortuary cults. The lotus and the papyrus were the two basic plants used in offerings, although other plants and flowers, such as cornflowers and jasmin, were used in the decoration of bouquets (Dittmar 1986: 69–78, 144–6). The distinction between flowers and bouquets as offerings, and floral staves as attributes, is always clearly made. The lotus was a symbol of new life, fecundity and eroticism, properties imparted by its scent (blue lotus) (Bruner-Traut 1980: 1092–6; Dittmar 1986: 132–3). The papyrus had protective as well as life-giving and solar properties. It was the symbol of Lower Egypt (Drenkhan 1982: 668–70; Dittmar 1986: 133–43). As a staff, it was principally held by goddesses, characteristic above all of Hathor, Wadjet and Sakhmet (e.g. **4g**) and by association Horus and the Pharaoh (Helck 1982: 671–2). In representations of temple rituals and the royal cult, lotus and papyrus bouquets were offered by the Pharaoh to deities and *vice versa* (**1f**); in practice this was done through the intermediary of priests (Dittmar 1986: 147). Flowers which had come into contact with the deity were imbued with divine grace (the *nh nh* bouquet) (Dittmar 1986: 132; 148–9). In the mortuary cult and in funerary representations, the lotus was held or smelled for its life-giving properties (**1l**) and papyrus decked the funerary barques and was placed by the mummy (Dittmar 1986: 132, 147). Flowers were also offered and smelled in secular banquet scenes (N. de G. Davies 1915: Pl. III, B). New Kingdom iconographic and textual

sources for flower offerings are abundant and varied (Dittmar 1986: 69 ff.). Old and Middle Kingdom sources are limited to private mortuary representations (Dittmar 1986: 67–9). From the Middle Kingdom there is a scene of Mentuhotep II offering a lotus to Hathor (Habachi 1963: 25: Fig. 7: **1f**). The two plants can be easily distinguished when not very stylised. The lotus with its segmented floral head has a short pliable stem (**5i**). The flower is often represented drooping or bent (**2q**, **5m**). The papyrus with a closed, bell-like head, or umbel had a long, straight stem (**5k**, **5l**) around which the lotus and other plants could be arranged.

GODS (general)

Crowns

These are broadly divided into widely worn royal crowns (e.g. the white, the red, the double) and crowns characteristic of certain gods (e.g. the *atef* of Osiris, the double plumes of Amun, the solar disc of Re) which were shared by deities who had related characteristics or who were linked by synchretism. Wigs were worn by all animal-headed anthropomorphic gods. The standard divine wig was tripartite, with a thick section falling on to the shoulders at the back, and a slim, straight section falling on to each shoulder. Each section was of the same length and wigs fell to just below the shoulder. Fully anthropomorphic gods were shaven-headed.

Dress

Gods who did not have a costume specific to them, such as the mummiform shroud of Osiris, wore basic dress which resembled that of the Pharaoh. This consisted of one of several wrapped, pleated and straight kilts with aprons tied at the waist in a knot which is the same as the lower half of the Isis *tet* amulet. The upper part of the body remained bare or was clad in a corselet and/or different types of breastbands. The gods were barefooted. A broad collar was the norm, and armlets and bracelets were very common.The *ankh* and *was* sceptre were standard attributes ubiquitously carried (Staehelin 1977: 718–19, and see references under individual entries).

GODDESSES (general)[1]

Wigs

The standard divine female wig as represented on monumental reliefs falls in two parts: a thick section below the shoulder at the back and a narrow section from behind the ear down to breast level at the front. The two sections are generally level with each other. The back part falls in a heavy diagonal mass and the front part falls vertically. Goddesses can also wear head-cloths which bunch the hair at the shoulder (e.g. David 1981: 134 LR 8; Aldred 1971: Figs. 64, 82; Müller 1980: 963). Other representations, for example in paintings in tombs or on coffins, or in the minor arts, show divine and commoner's wigs with greater naturalism e.g. plaiting, horizontal or vertical ribbing, decorated ends, bunched or narrow back sections, and more characteristically of commoners, wigs which hug the shoulder, fall to different lengths, or fall down the back with no front section (Lange and Schäfer 1902: 107–58; Pl. LXV–LXVII: Newberry 1982: Pl. XXIV). Wigs and head-cloths could be worn with cloth head-bands or decorated metal diadems (Kern-Lilleso 1986: 46–50) beside the uraeus or vulture headdress.

1 Crowns and head-dresses of Middle Kingdom–IInd Intermediate Period anthropomorphic goddesses (examples):

1) Hathor: horns and disc crown with uraeus on crown or as a diadem: Habachi 1963: Figs. 7, 8, 22; Gardiner, Peet and Černý 1955: nos. 56, 126; Arnold 1974: Taf. 18; without uraeus: Habachi 1963: Fig. 22; Lepsius 1849: IV/2, Pl.. 119; Gardiner, Peet and Černý 1955: nos. 83, 89, 116; Arnold 1974: Pl. 15, 28; red crown: Habachi 1963: Fig. 1. See also Malaise 1981: 406–7.
2) Isis: sun disc and uraeus: Lambert and Hall 1922: Pl. 128: 1645; throne hieroglyph: Lepsius 1849: IV/2, Pl. 119; plain wig: uncertain: Arnold 1974: 27: Pl. 28. See Winged goddesses and note 7 for Isis in a funerary context.
3) Satis: red crown and uraeus; Habachi 1963: Fig. 19; white crown with horns, with and without uraeus, Radwan 1985: Abb. 1, 2; vulture head-dress: Malaise 1981: 273; plain wig: Habachi 1963: Fig. 20; see also Valbelle 1981: 95: Fig. 1.
4) Neith: red crown: Bisson de la Roque 1937: Fig. 25; double crown: Porter and Moss 1951: 122; arrows: Habachi 1963: Fig. 21.
5) Anukis: high feathers: Porter and Moss 1951: 122; see also Valbelle 1981: 96: Fig. 2.
6) Tjenenet: white crown and vulture attachment; Bisson de la Roque 1937: Pl. XVIII: Fig. 26; see also Derchain-Urtel 1979.
7) Iunit 'Lady of Ankh-taui': vulture head-dress and uraeus; Mond 1940: 1, 2: Pl. XCVI.
8) Uto/Wadjet: vulture head-dress and uraeus: Habachi 1963: Fig. 14; vulture head-dress: Gautier and Jéquier 1902: Pl. 111; plain wig: uncertain: Arnold 1974: Pl. 10.
9) Nekhbet: vulture head-dress: Habachi 1963: Fig. 14; plain wig: uncertain: Arnold 1974: Pl. 10.
10) Nephthys: house and basket monogram: Lepsius 1849 IV/2: Pl. 119.
11) Mut: double crown: Habachi 1963: Fig. 8.

Dress

The dress of Egyptian goddesses is even more uniform than that of the gods. In almost all cases they wear a tight-fitting, breast-high gown which falls to just above the ankles. The gown can have one or two diagonal shoulder straps and a belt with two long, falling strands. New Kingdom representations show hemmed or fringed ends. The goddesses' legs can be clearly outlined and part of a breast revealed. Appliqué wings, tight-fitting feathered gowns or lozenge-patterned gowns were worn in mortuary contexts by Isis, Nephthys or Nut, or in ordinary cultic contexts by such goddesses as Tjenenet or Isis.[2] The goddesses almost invariably wear a broad collar, and frequently bracelets, armlets and anklets.

HATHOR (**1f**, **1g**, **3a**, **3b**, **4a**)

Perhaps originally worshipped as a cow, Hathor was primarily a sky and 'royal mother' goddess, with a strong mortuary and tree cult. She was a patroness of mining as well as of women, music and dance. Her cult origin is unknown but she was worshipped in different aspects in a number of centres, notably Memphis, Thebes, Kusae, Dendera, Assiut, Atfih, Heliopolis, Gebelein, the Sinai and Nubia (Derchain 1977: 1024–33; Bleeker 1973; Allam 1963). Her worship in border areas was clearly relevant to her absorption abroad (see below).

Sky Goddess

Hathor is described as residing in the sky but her celestial nature focuses on her relationship with the sun god Re. She was his mother and carried the solar eye or sun disc between her horns, and eventually became Re's solar eye herself (Derchain 1977: 1026 and references in note 27; Allam 1963: 99–101, 113–16, 120–1; Faulkner 1969: 705). She was also a celestial cow, giving birth to Horus and providing nourishment for the dead, and was referred to as a cow herself (Allam 1963: 112–13).

Royal Mother

The goddess's relationship with the Pharaoh was defined by her mythological association with Horus (cf. Isis), to whom she was wife and mother, and by her relationship with Re, the Pharaoh's father. Her association with the king was at a high point in the Old and Early Middle Kingdoms: in extant royal iconography she is the most frequently portrayed patron goddess. Queens and royal daughters became priestesses in her cult from the Old Kingdom onwards (Troy 1986: 62–3). In the Middle Kingdom she was also a patroness of nomarchs (Allam 1963: 23–4; 39–40; 94–5). Although universally worshipped Hathor's cult was essentially defined by locality. She did not become the supreme goddess that Isis was (cf. Isis).

Mortuary Goddess

Hathor's associations with the mortuary cult go back to the Old Kingdom. Her principal function was that of provider of sustenance for the dead (Allam 1963: 57–8, 99).

Tree Goddess

The goddess's celestial, mortuary and life-giving properties were closely bound to her cult as tree goddess, where she was referred to as 'Mistress of the southern Sycamore' (Memphis) and 'Lady of the Date Palm' (Monomemphis) (Allam 1963: 3, 5, 103–9; Buhl 1947: 86, 91, 94; Hermsen 1981: 62–72). In Egyptian cosmogony the 'turquoise' sycamore was a protective tree located in the eastern horizon where the sun god rises. In association with goddesses in a funerary context (Hathor, Nut, Isis), the tree, notably the sycamore, became a 'tree of life', a provider of food and drink for the dead.[3] The tree was also a pillar of the sky and a ladder to heaven from which the goddesses helped to raise the dead up to the sky (Faulkner 1969: 1440; 1977: 1270, VI 330).

Plant Goddess

Hathor was particularly associated with the papyrus through her mythological role in the birth of Horus in the papyrus clumps of Chemnis in the Delta. She was also closely linked to the lotus, a symbol of fecundity, eroticism and rebirth (Pinch 1993), through her role as solar and royal mother. Hathor was thus connected with growth and plants in general; known as the 'Lady of Plants', she 'lets the plants become green' (Dittmar 1986: 86–92, 132–9).

2 Ordinary: Staehelin 1966: 11–30, 1977: 718–19. See note 1 for the Middle Kingdom. New Kingdom: e.g. Frankfort 1933: Pl. LXIII; David 1981: 70, 91, 193 ff.; feathered: e.g. Bisson de la Roque 1937: Figs. 43, 50; Mond 1940: Pl. XCVI: Fig.1; feathered and unfeathered: David 1981: 38, 39; lozenge pattern: e.g. Aldred 1978: Figs. 64, 66, 67, 71.

3 Solar tree: Buhl 1947: 86–8; Faulkner 1969: 916a, b; 1436, 1485a; Allen 1974: 109; mortuary context: Buhl 1947: 89; Hermsen 1981: 115–21; Faulkner 1977: 334, 341 ff.

Hathor as goddess of foreign places and mining

From the Old Kingdom onwards Hathor was associated with stone quarrying, metal mining and trading centres, notably Nubia, the Eastern desert, Wadi el Hudi, the Sinai, Timna and Byblos. (see Chapter 1).[4] As Hathor was not a chthonic deity, her affinity with raw materials does not seem to have been linked with the actual mining or quarrying processes, but may have been connected to the value of the materials themselves (Stadelmann 1967: 4–5). Her role as patroness of mining is best demonstrated in Sinai, where she is attested from the IIIrd Dynasty at Mahgara, and where a temple was built for her at Serabit el Khadim during the Middle Kingdom (Gardiner, Peet and Černý 1955). Hathor 'Mistress of Turquoise' is referred to as protecting or leading expeditions, was a patroness to both kings and expedition leaders (Gardiner, Peet and Černý 1955: nos. 24, 29, 35–7, 41–2; Allam 1963: 77–80) and was worshipped by Asiatics (Pinch 1993; Gardiner, Peet and Černý 1955: Pl. 51: no. 163). During the Middle Kingdom Amenemhet III was particularly active in Sinai and Hathor is frequently represented with him.[5] Hathor's links with seafaring are attested from the Old and Middle Kingdoms when she was directly and indirectly invoked by sailors in mortuary contexts before undertaking journeys to the 'West', and a propitious wind attributed to her (Allam 1963: 132, n. 4; Stadelmann 1967: 10; Bleeker 1973: 72–3). Her link with Byblos (see Chapter 1) demonstrates, through her association with travel and border areas, that she was the deity best suited for this patronage (Kemp 1983: 141).

Hathor and other Deities

Hathor's relationship to Re and Horus have already been mentioned. She had a close affinity with a number of goddesses (e.g. Nut, Bastet, Sachmet and Isis) (Derchain 1977: 1029–30), of whom Isis is the most relevant here (see under Isis).

Iconography

Hathor's standard iconography in the Old and Middle Kingdoms was that of an anthropomorphic deity wearing a cow's horns and solar disc head-dress, wig and sometimes uraeus (e.g. **1f**, **1g**)(see n. 1). In New Kingdom and later representation, Hathor is depicted in numerous crowns besides her traditional one: (a) the red (b) the white (c) the papyrus or lotus, or mixed papyrus and lotus (**4c**) (d) the solar disc and uraeus (e) the two feathers with or without horns and with or without sun disc (f) the ram's horns in combination with other types (**4b**) (g) the symbol of the west, etc.[6] She provided a divine model for royal women, and the vulture head-dress, the uraeus and the double plumes were adopted by royal women from the Old Kingdom onwards (Troy 1986: 54, 73–4, 116, 119, 122). (See below for the 'Hathor' wig.) Her most frequent attributes, beside the commonplace *ankh* and *was* sceptre, were the *wȝḏ* papyrus sceptre (Sethe 1929: 6–7; Pinch 1993), the *menat* necklace (a symbol of pacification, union, vigour: Allam 1963: 28–30) (**3a**) the 'naos' or shrine and the looped sistrum (Derchain 1977; Allam 1963; Bleeker 1973; Daumas 1970; Pinch 1993; Roberts 1984). The sceptre, *menat* and sistra were associated with other goddesses as well as with royal females. Hathor is represented in regular cult scenes of offering and blessing with the Pharaoh as well as in roles more specific to her nature. As a royal goddess, she is closely involved in coronation scenes (Mariette 1873: Pl. XII; Lepsius 1849: Pl. 124d), and as mother and nurse she is associated with Khhum in the birth of the Pharaoh and suckles him (Gayet 1894: Pl. LXIII, LXIV, LXV). Scenes with tree goddesses extending their arms to feed the deceased or their 'souls', the *ba* birds, are attested from the New Kingdom on. Specific representations of Hathor in this aspect are rare (Lanzone 1882: 1: Pl. CCCXXII: Fig. 6f), for by the New Kingdom Nut had become the mortuary tree goddess *par excellence*.

Hathor symbols

Hathor, whose face was said to be 'bright', was referred to as the 'Lady of Faces' (Troy 1986: 22 re. C.T. III : 320b, VI: 131a). Influenced by the iconography of Bat (Fischer 1962: 12–14; Pinch 1993: 135–59), a frontally facing head donned in a wig with two long curling locks or a straight wig, was Hathor's standard symbol (H at-

4 Allam 1963: 132; Wadi el Hudi: Fakhry 1952: Fig. 28f; Timna: Rothenberg 1972: 129–52; Byblos: Kuykendall 1966: 26–7; Faulkner 1977: 261c.

5 Gardiner, Peet and Černý 1955: e.g. nos. 23, 56, 89, 95, 112, 116, 131.

6 a) Lanzone 1882: Pls. CCCXIV: 4
b) Lanzone 1882: Pls. CCCXIV: 3
c) Lanzone 1882: Pl. CCXVII: 2; Vandier 1965a: 103: Fig. 23b; Mahmud 1978: Pl. XVII
d) Gardiner, Peet and Černý 1955: no. 243
e) Lanzone 1882: Pls. CCCXIV: 3; CCXV: 4; CCXVII: 4; CCCXX: 2
f) Lanzone 1882: Pls. CCCXVIII: 1; CCCXX: 4; Vandier 1964b: 91, Fig. 4
g) Lefébure 1886: Pl. XXXII

hor head). The former was a secular hairstyle, probably anticipated in early Dynastic times (Stephenson-Smith 1981: 47: Figs. 29, 30; Sourouzian 1981: 448–9: Figs. 1–4), but clearly attested from the XIth Dynasty (Bourriau 1988: no. 8) and worn by XIIth Dynasty queens (Sourouzian 1981: 449: Figs. 5–10) (**2k**). It was adopted by Hathor (Mace and Winlock 1916: 45: n. 4; Sourouzian 1981: 446: n. 8; Pinch 1993; Bourriau 1988: no. 14). The Hathor head is found architecturally, not only as a column (**4s**) but as a frieze (e.g. Wilkinson and Hill 1983: 74: 37.4.1), as a cult symbol flanked by worshippers, felines (Wildung 1974: Fig. 12), sphinxes (**1w**), lotus and papyri (Wildung 1974: 260, Fig. 2–17), and in the minor arts: as a mirror handle (Bourriau 1988: no. 185), an amulet (Reisner 1958: Pl. V: nos. 12670–91), a votive offering (Petrie 1906: Figs. 151, 152, 153) and on scarabs (e.g. Tufnell 1984: Pl. XLVIII: nos. 2868, 2870). The combination of the secular scroll wig with a frontal Hathor face with pronounced ears is attributed to the Middle Kingdom (Pinch 1985: 284; Bourriau 1988: no. 185). The Hathor column, which terminated in one, two or four Hathor heads, is first firmly attested in stone from the New Kingdom (Haeny 1977: 1039–41; Arnold 1980: 326 for illustrations), although the Bat symbol was used as a capital as early as the IVth Dynasty (Pinch 1993: 138; Borchardt 1897: 108). When later surmounted by a *naos,* this evoked the sistrum (Pinch 1993: 153–4) (**4s**). The Hathor column, also flanked by lotuses or papyri, was associated with her cosmic aspect and her protective role (Pinch 1993: 153–9).

HATHOR and ISIS

The close link and eventual partial merging between Isis and Hathor is of particular relevance to the iconography of the Egyptianising goddesses in this corpus. This process began in the Old Kingdom, partly as the result of Isis' prominence in the Heliopolitan beliefs of the time. In the Pyramid texts, mentions of Isis, alone or with Nephthys, as the mother and protectress of the king, far outnumber those of Hathor, who was not part of the Heliopolitan ennead, and whose mythology was much more diverse (Von Beckerath 1980: 188). Evidence for the association of Hathor and Isis in cult exists from the Old Kingdom but becomes more substantial during the Middle Kingdom. The goddesses, for example, are mentioned together at Kusae, and are associated in the Coffin Texts and in personal names (Münster 1968: 123 (Kusae), 106 re. CT IV 177a–8e, see also n. 42; 123: n. 1355 (personal names). A merging of the roles of Isis and Hathor also becomes evident: Isis is a 'mother' of deities (Münster 1968: 160–2), one of her principal New Kingdom characteristics, and as a mortuary goddess (Münster 1968: 123). More significantly for her iconography, Isis's relationship with the king was cemented during the Middle Kingdom by her being referred to as the wife of Re and uraeus goddess, as was Hathor (Münster 1968: 106–8, 121–2). The adoption of the Hathor crown by Isis and the virtually interchangeable representations of the two goddesses by the New Kingdom seem to show that they were assimilated to each other, but they none the less retained their individuality and could function as a pair (Münster 1968: 119–20; Beckerath 1980: 197).

HAWK

The representation of the bird in Egypt was conventionalised and probably influenced by several species of falcons possessing similar markings (Houlihan 1986: cf. nos. 24: 45 and 25: 46–9). It does not represent one species. The hawk itself was primarily a manifestation of the god Horus, as a protector, and in his royal and solar aspects.

Iconography

The Horus hawk is one of the most widespread of Egyptian symbols. It is represented standing in profile (**4l**), flying protectively in profile (**2g**) or frontally with spread wings in virtually all the arts from monumental architecture to glyptic. When royal, the hawk wears a variety of royal crowns, of which the double was the most common (**2e**, **4l**). The *shen* or *ankh* are standard symbols held in his talons when in protective attitudes (**2g**). As a solar hawk, his most common crown was the solar disc (**2c**).

HAWK-HEADED GOD IN THE RAM'S HORNS CROWN

This was a solar crown worn by Horus as a solar god in bird form (cf. Horus) and by Horus Mekhenti-irti or Horus of Letopolis, another solar god (Altenmüller 1980: 41–6).

HAWK-HEADED GOD IN THE *ATEF* CROWN

This Osirian crown was one of those worn by the hawk-headed deity Sokar (Mariette 1869: Salle T). He was identified with Osiris during the Middle Kingdom or earlier and became the patron god of the Memphite necropolis. He derived a chthonic and fertility aspect, as well as his mortuary one, from Osiris (Brovarski 1984: 1055–67, esp. 1062–3).

Iconography

The god is represented in bird form as well as anthropomorphically, dressed in standard costume or mummiform. The god is most frequently shown in a type of *atef* crown (Mariette 1869: Pl. 35b, 38b, 40, a, b).

HERON (**5o**)

The heron was one of the most frequently depicted Egyptian birds, primarily in its natural environment, but also as a mythological animal. The hieroglyph for the bird (*bnw)* in the Pyramid texts represents a type of wagtail, but in the Coffin texts he appears as a heron, and this remained his principal form (Houlihan 1986: nos. 13–18; Figs. 15–18; Kákosy 1982: 1031). In the Pyramid texts, the *bnw* is linked to Atum and Heliopolis, in a passage that is interpreted as showing that the bird was a manifestation of Atum (Faulkner 1969: 1652; 1977: CT VI: 286). Thus the *bnw* was a solar bird and, like the creator sun god Re-Atum, he was self-generated. These two features formed the basis of his significance in solar and mortuary beliefs, as a symbol of creation, regeneration and re-birth (Kákosy 1982: 1031–3; van den Broek 1972: 14–24). In royal ideology he was associated with the solar and royal *ished* tree, and was a symbol of longevity (Kákosy 1982: 1034; Hermsen 1981: 131–6). Representations of the heron in his natural environment go back to the Early Old Kingdom (Houlihan 1986: Fig. 15). As a mythical being he is best represented in vignettes illustrating mortuary spells from New Kingdom tombs and 'Book of the Dead' papyri. The bird is usually represented standing or more rarely crouched on his own, or in the proximity of other mortuary symbols and figures (Faulkner 1972: 80–1: Spell 83; 82: Spells 83–4).

HORUS (**1c**, **1j**, **3s**)

Horus (*ḥrw* 'the distant one') was the most universal and important of the Egyptian falcon gods, and one of the deities most closely linked to the king. His fundamental nature, attested from late Pre-dynastic times, was that of royal and sky god. His most common representation was as a bird (HAWK) and as a semi-anthropomorphic deity, with a falcon head and a human body. He also occurs fully anthropomorphic as Horus the child (Harpocrates), but far less frequently. Numerous forms of Horus gods, reflecting his genealogy (e.g. Harsiese, Horus son of Isis, Horus the elder), function (Harsomtus, Horus uniter of the two lands), cult places (Hierakonpolis, etc.) evolved. He also formed synchretistic groupings with other major deities, such as Re, to become Re-Harakhte or Min-Horus (Schenkel 1980: 14–26).

Royal god

The living king was identified with Horus and manifested him. Horus was also the Pharaoh's principal patron deity (Schenkel 1980: 14–25; Faulkner 1969: e.g. 316, 493, 503, 575, 609, 634; Lichtheim 1975: 53, 15c). The unified duality of the land of Egypt was symbolised by Horus' relationship with Seth, and Horus and Seth uniting the two lands by joining the heraldic plants of sedge/lotus (Upper Egypt) and papyrus (Lower Egypt) over the *sma* (the lungs and windpipe hieroglyph for 'to unite') was a standard royal motif (**1j**).

Horus as sky and solar god: see Re-Harakhte

Iconography

Horus as a royal and national god. In this basic aspect Horus was most frequently represented without a crown, but wigged or in the double crown. He wears standard divine costume and holds the ubiquitous *ankh* and the *was* sceptre. When active in rituals, he handles a number of other staves and insigni, such as the *ḥqꜣt* sceptre, the *nḫḫw* flail, sceptres of Upper and Lower Egypt, jubilee staves, the *djed*, almost always to present them to the king (e.g. David 1981: 30 N.Wall URD 39 Doors VI, VII Wb UR; 42 s. wall URC). Horus, sometimes accompanied by Seth or Thoth, plays a major part as a patron god in royal rituals, such as the cult of the Pharaoh, but notably in the coronation and jubilee ceremonies. In these, his principal functions were to lead the king into the presence of other deities, to purify him (**1c**), to hand him royal insignia and to crown him (e.g. Naville 1896: Pl. LXIV; 1898: Pl. LXIV; Mariette 1869: Pl. 31a). Similarly, in mortuary rituals, Horus purified the deceased, introduced him to the four protective goddesses (Isis, Nephtys, Selkis and Neith) and led him to Osiris (Faulkner 1969: 1683–5). He was also involved in the opening of the mouth ceremony in which the deceased's life was restored to him (Faulkner 1969: 13 ff.). Like any other major deity Horus received the royal cult (e.g. David 1981: 139–41).

ISIS (**1i**, **4d**)

The cult of Isis, which is poorly attested for the Old Kingdom and sporadically so for the Middle Kingdom (Abydos, Kusae, Hierakonpolis, Edfu, Achmin, Koptos, Wadi Hammamat), was of major importance by the New Kingdom (Münster 1968: 159, 160–4, 165f; Von Beckerath 1980: 194–6). Her nature as supreme goddess and principal royal patroness is explained by her dominant protective role in Old Kingdom texts and representations according to which she was a member of the Heliopolitan *ennead*, the mother of Horus and the sister-wife of Osiris (Von Beckerath 1980: 191–3). She was thus mother, sister and wife to the living and dead Pharaoh, and played a role in all aspects of royal ritual from birth and coronation to burial and resurrection. She was principally worshipped at Abydos, Koptos and Memphis, and in the Late Period, Iseum and Philae, although her cult is also attested in numerous other places (Münster 1968: 174–88). Her associations with other major deities, such as Re (see below), Amun, Min and Hathor again stem from her fundamental role in official mythology as well as her prominence in local cults (Münster 1968: 80–157, summary 209–10; Faulkner 1969: 3, 32, 172, 371, 734, 744 ff.). The pairing of Isis and Nephthys are discussed under winged goddesses (**1i**).

Iconography

Pre-New Kingdom representations of Isis are relatively scant. This is partly because of the poor survival of Middle Kingdom royal monuments from Abydos. Extant representations show an anthropomorphic goddess with a varied iconography: as a royal goddess she wears the hieroglyph of her name (*st* 'throne') or the sun disc and uraeus (n. 1) (**4d**). As a mortuary goddess she is shown as a woman with raised arms and her name above her head (Lacau 1904: nos. 28028–30; Hayes 1953: Fig. 228). She is dressed in the standard costume of Egyptian goddesses and in non-mortuary contexts holds the *ankh* and the *was* sceptre. By the New Kingdom, Isis was represented in a number of head-dresses beside her traditional throne hieroglyph (Lepsius 1849: II Pl. 119 and **1i** right). These include (a) the Hathor crown; (b) the double plumes, with and without disc (David 1981: 34, W. Wall, Door VI Wb); (c) the double plumes and cow's horns (Frankfort 1933: Pl. LXXIII); (d) the vulture headdress; (e) the plain wig, with and without uraeus; and (f) the head-cloth. As mother to the gods and to the Pharaoh and through her association with Osiris, she is depicted in virtually all royal and mortuary ritual.[7] Her basic attributes at this period were similar to Hathor's (e.g. the *menat*, sistra) and also comprised jubilee staves in particular royal contexts. The *tjet*, a symbol which resembles a girdle knot or an *ankh* with the transverse arms hanging down, is specifically linked with Isis in the New Kingdom. Red of colour, it was imbued with Isis's protective power (Westendorf 1980: 204). In funerary contexts she was commonly represented as a winged goddess (see winged goddesses) or as a hawk or kite (Münster 1968: 201–2).

There appears to be no fundamental reason why the link between Isis and Hathor should not have been expressed iconographically before the New Kingdom. The wearing of the Hathor crown by winged goddesses on seals dated to Period III (*c.* 1620–1550 BC) is evidence for this possibility.

KHNUM (**1o**, **3w**)

Khnum was a major deity of universal significance. His principal aspect, linked to his ram nature, was that of creation and procreation. As the principal deity of Elephantine, the capital of the 1st Upper Egyptian nome, located at a natural barrier of the first cataract and considered the 'source of the Nile', Khnum was also connected with water (Badawi 1937; Otto 1975: 850–953). Khnum was fundamentally linked to the Pharaoh as creator: he was responsible for fashioning the form of the Pharaoh and of his *ka* (e.g. Naville 1896/II: 13 and 16, Pl. XLVIII; David 1981: 22, LRC). In the Middle Kingdom, Khnum (the tutelary deity of the XVIth Egyptian (Oryx) nome), had important cult centres in Middle Egypt, and was a patron to local monarchs (Montet 1936: 156–63; Helck 1974: 109–11; Fischer 1977: 414–15).

Iconography

Khnum was represented anthropomorphically with a ram's head and two ram's horns projecting horizontally (**1o**, **3w**). A crown was not one of his necessary attributes; he frequently appears in just a wig (**1o**, **3w**) or, less commonly, with his emblematic hieroglyph, the jug, on his head (Habachi 1963: Fig. 20). When crowned he wears the *atef* (Lepsius 1849: III Pl. 179). He is represented in standard costume with the *ankh* and *was* sceptre, as well as with more specific attributes, such as a notched staff or the hieroglyph for water (Lepsius 1849: IV/2 Pl. 119, 150: 6; VI/3: 71a, 82a). Khnum appears in straightforward cult scenes with the Pharaoh, and sometimes participates in his birth ritual (Naville 1896: 11, 16: Pl. XCIII).

7 E.g. David 1981: 34b, 34, 35c, 48 LRIV 51d, 13 1LR 5–7e, 138, T 50 Room 10 S. Wall; 13 LR8.

Solar Ram

Although the identification between Amun, Re and Khnum is normally attributed to the New Kingdom, there is Middle Kingdom evidence for these synchretisms (Barta 1984: 171–2, n. 358, 359 and see AMUN-RE).

LAPWING (**2t**, **5p**)

The lapwing (*rhyt*) is one of the earliest clearly identifiable birds in Egyptian art. It first appears as a symbol of subjected Lower Egypt, and then of all rebels or peoples (Quibell 1900: Pl. XXVIC; Petrie 1953: B4). It is more frequent as a symbol and hieroglyph than in realistic representations. The king who was considered to have conquered and appeased 'the people', consequently protected them, and they in return worshipped him (Kaplony 1980: 418). This is expressed by a combination of the hieroglyph for lapwing, which signifies 'people', with the sign *nb* ('all') and *dwȝ* ('adore'), which signifies 'all the people in adoration' (Kaplony 1980: 418, n. 22). This was a recurring device on thrones and monumental reliefs, particularly by doorways and windows, and in the minor arts (Houlihan 1986: 95, with n. 516–19; Edwards 1972: no. 34). In other contexts, the king is shown holding a lapwing while standing or kneeling before deities in royal ceremonies (e.g. David 1981: 37 LR (IV 31); 38 UR (IV. 22)). The *rḫyt* bird was also associated with the myth of the Eye of Horus, perhaps as a helper. A Middle Kingdom spell against snakes invokes protection for the eye of Horus and for the lapwing (Kaplony 1980: 418, n. 23). In non-royal scenes, the lapwing is depicted in papyrus and swamp scenes or is held by youths in the company of their parents in tomb representations (Houlihan 1986: Figs. 132, 136, 137). The lapwing is represented early with both folded and crossed wings. In the New Kingdom the lapwing is depicted symbolically with two human arms raised in adoration (Kaplony 1980: 418, n. 22; Houlihan 1986: Fig. 134) (**2t**).

LION-DEMON ('BES') (**1r**, **4j**)

'Bes' is the standard generic name used for a number of Egyptian dwarf demons or deities, some of whom are also known under other names (Krall 1889: 77–8; Ballod 1913: 11–14, 24–36; Dasen 1993: 55-7).[8] In the Middle Kingdom the name 'Aha' occurs in connection with this type of figure (Altenmüller 1965: 152; Ranke 1935: 103: 9). The name 'Bes' is itself first attested in the New Kingdom (e.g. Piankoff 1964: 91: 25). Despite his popularity, 'Bes' was not part of the canonical Egyptian pantheon. His hybrid iconography (see below) shows that he is related to demons (Baines 1985: 128–9). Aspects of his benign nature, confirmed by iconographic sources from the New Kingdom, are revealed by the earliest epithets and representations of 'Bes' hybrids. This figure was primarily a protector and an apotropaic lion-demon: 'Aha' means 'the fighter' (Altenmüller 1965: 152), and a Middle Kingdom spell invokes him to protect life and health (Ballod 1913: 28–9). He was essentially a protector of women and children, or of fertility and birth (Ballod 1913: 41–2; Altenmüller 1975: 720–2; Dasen 1993: 67-75), and was thus associated with Hathor. He was also a protector of Re, with whom he was later identified (Piankoff 1964:131: Form of Re 73, Invocation 68; 91: 25 (Papyri 4, 7)). Both these aspects are shown on Middle Kingdom apotropaic knives which depict demons assisting Re in his journey through the underworld (Altenmüller 1965: 176–7). These were used primarily for the protection of births, but also in funerary contexts, for the protection of the dead during rebirth and resurrection (Altenmüller 1965: 178–9; *idem* 1986: 26–7; Dasen 1993: 77). Secondary aspects, such as the patronage of music and dance, through 'Bes''s association with Hathor, were defined in the New Kingdom (Altenmüller 1975: 722; Dasen 1993: 77-8).

Iconography

The distinguishing characteristics of these beings are their hybrid nature and dwarfish proportions. In the Middle Kingdom, hybrid leonine and feline creatures are depicted on the magical wands mentioned above and as figurines (**1r**, **4j**). Most have tails, bandy legs, a mane and round ears; some are squatter than others.[9] They are represented frontally and clutch snakes, reptiles or knives in each hand. A similar type of thickset, bandy-legged figure, whose hybrid nature is not obvious and who is not associated with snakes, is found on 'stamp seal' amulets and early scarabs of the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period.[10] These amulets have principally been found in popular female and child burials (Ward 1970: 66), an association which is directly relevant to the

8 My thanks to V. Dasen for the Krall and Ballod references and for discussing 'Bes' with me.

9 Altenmüller 1965: cf. Fig. 13 with e.g. Figs. 4a, 9, 16; see also *idem* 1986: Fig. 4. 1. Female types also occur: Altenmüller 1986: Fig. i; *idem* 1965: Fig. 8. See also Ballod 1913: Figs. 18, 19.

10 E.g. Brunton 1927: 13: Pls. XXXII, 118: XXXIII, 1937: 4: Pl. LX; Ward 1978: Pl. V, e.g. 128–32. Subjects common to Middle Kingdom apotropaic wands, such as the hippopotamus, the frog and the crocodile, are themselves found as amulets and depicted on Old Kingdom cylinder seals. See Brunton 1937: 2: Pl. LX, whose figures particularly recall those on Middle Kingdom wands.

nature of the later 'Bes' figure. The conventional iconography of 'Bes' – a thickset figure with a tail, a rotund belly, a large head with a grimacing face, round ears and a mane, wearing a feather head-dress and sometimes a kilt – occurs with elaborations from the New Kingdom (Ballod 1913: 41–53, Fig. 20–56; Wilson 1975: 77–103). His solar associations were also expressed by wings and his standing on or carrying solar symbols.[11]

LION GOD (**3y**)

In official iconography, lions as felines or, more rarely, as anthropomorphic lion-headed gods, were essentially solar and royal animals. They were principally manifestations of deities with solar associations, notably forms of Horus (e.g. Harmachis, Harakhte as lions, Horus of Mesen also anthropomorphically), rather than deities in their own right. This is in contrast to the lioness-goddesses, who were far more common and played a leading role as royal patronesses (De Wit 1951: 237–53, esp. 238–43; Rössler-Köhler 1980: 1081–4). An exception was the bellicose solar deity Mahes or Mihos, the son of the lion goddesses Sakhmet and Bastet, who was espescially worshipped in the XIth Lower Egyptian nome. This deity is only properly attested from the New Kingdom, although he appears in the ophoric names of the Middle Kingdom (De Wit 1951: 230–4; Rössler-Köhler 1980: 1084–5; Perdrizet 1921–7: 353–65). Horus of Mesen (Edfu), described as residing in Khent-Iabt 'the Front of the East' in the XIVth nome of Lower Egypt (Gardiner 1947: 203–4; Helck 1974: 187–90), and as a lion of great strength, is known from myth and epithets as a vanquisher of Seth (Vernus 1982: 108–9; De Wit 1951: 240–1). Horus the harpooner, to whom he is related, is known from the Old Kingdom (Altenmüller 1980: 36).

Iconography

The anthropomorphic Horus of Mesen and Mahes wear standard Egyptian costume. The former can be depicted in the double crown (Lanzone 1882: 1: Pl. CCXXXXV) and the latter in the Solar disc, the *atef* (**3y**) or crownless (Lanzone 1882: Pl. CVI; Perdrizet 1921–7: 365).

LIONESS-GODDESS (**4g**)

The specific identity of this goddess cannot be distinguished, for the iconography of Egyptian lioness-goddesses was very similar.

The major lioness-goddesses, Sakhmet, Bastet (also a cat goddess) and Hathor in her lion aspect, were primarily associated with wadis and deserts (De Wit 1951: 285). Sachmet was worshipped in both Upper and Lower Egypt, whereas Hathor in this aspect had more cults in Upper Egypt (De Wit 1951: 426–34). Their essential nature was one of protective savagery and their role the destruction of enemies. In mythology, most became identified with the 'eye of Re' and uraeus goddesses (Staehelin 1984: 325–6). The most important lioness-goddess was Sakhmet, whose cult centre was Memphis. Originally a protective goddess and a mother to the king, she became a war goddess and a symbol of the king's power in battle (Staehelin 1984: 324, 326–7). Hathor's leonine and destructive aspect, known from the myth of 'The Eye of Re', was a secondary one and came from her identification as the eye of Re and her association with Sachmet (Derchain 1977: 1026; Junker 1911).

Iconography

Represented anthropomorphically with a lioness's head, the goddesses wore wigs but not always crowns. When worn, the crown was a solar disc. They are dressed in standard costume, with a rosette pattern occasionally decorating the gown. They hold the ubiquitous *ankh*, but the papyrus rather than the *was* was their usual staff[12] (**4g**).

LOTUS (see FLORAL MOTIFS)

MONTU (**1o**, **3u**)

The earliest references to Montu describe him as a sky deity, but he was particularly significant as a royal god during the early Middle Kingdom, when, as god of Armant, he was adopted as the patron deity of the XIth, Theban dynasty. One of his fundamental characteristics was that of conqueror and defender of the realm. In the

11 'Bes' and solar symbols: Ballod 1913: Fig. 21 (worshipped by solar apes); Fig. 37 (*wḏ3t* eyes); Baines and Malek 1980: 217 (solar discs); Quibell 1908: no. 51110 (wings); Golenischeff 1877: Pl. 3 (Late Period, Pantheistic).

12 Staehelin 1984: 323–4; Daressy 1906; general leonine: Pls. LI, 39.067 (rosettes), LII: 39.075 (papyrus staff), LII 39.128 (Hathor and double plumes). Lioness-headed: Bastet: Mond and Myers 1940: Pl. XCVIII: 17; Sakhmet: Daressy 1906: Pl. 39.063 (solar disc and uraeus); David 1981: 37 LR.

New Kingdom, his war-like character became even more dominant. Montu's cult centre was the Theban nome (Baines 1982: 200–4).

Iconography

Montu's characteristic crown is a sun disc behind which two falcon feathers stand up, and before which were set two uraei (**3u**). His dress and attributes are those general to the majority of Egyptian male deities, except that sometimes he wears a feathered tunic. The god is represented as a royal god, and dispensing blessings or receiving offerings from many XIIth and XIIIth Dynasty kings.[13]

PAPYRUS (see FLORAL MOTIFS)

PHARAOH (**1a,1c, 1f–h, 1o, 3r**)

The Pharaoh's rule over the land of Upper and Lower Egypt was regarded as integral in the cosmic order and his duty was to maintain this order. The Pharaoh derived his power from the gods who ruled through him and on whom he depended for success. The well-being of the land of Egypt was granted by the gods as a reward for the Pharaoh's just actions, and in this sense he mediated between gods and mortals. Thus the Pharaoh's earthly office set him apart from the gods but his special relationship with the gods set him apart from other mortals. His principal relationship with the gods was filial: major figures of the pantheon, such as Re or Hathor, are referred to as his parents. Theologically, he could not be regarded as a god in his own right, even though he is often called *ntr*, the Egyptian generic term for god (Hornung 1983: 135–42). However, he could be identified with deities, for example, the living king was Horus incarnate and upon his death he became Osiris. Official records enhanced his status by identifying him with a number of other deities (Habachi 1969: 46). The Pharaoh as a dead divine ancestor or even as the still-reigning king could receive a cult in which the gods or the king took part (Habachi 1969: 46–50; Radwan 1985: 58–60).

Iconography

The costume in which the adult Pharaoh is most frequently portrayed consisted of a crown or head-cloth, a broad collar, a variety of different kilts and aprons, sometimes with a corselet or breast-bands, a lion or panther tail usually attached to the waist, and sandals or bare feet. At the Jubilee Festival, he wore a special calf-length cloak (Staehelin 1966; 1982: 744–5). The Pharaoh's most varied attribute were his head-dress and crown. The principal types were the White (*ḥḏt*) (**3c**), the red (*dšrt*) (**3d**), the double (*sḫmty*) (**3e**), the blue (*ḫprš*) (**3f**) and the triple or multiple (*ḫmḫm*) (**3g**) crowns, and a long (*nemes*) and short (*afnet*) head-cloth. He also wore a number of originally divine crowns: most commonly the *atef* (**3h**) and the double plumes (*šwty*) (**3i**).[14] The Pharaoh is represented holding a variety of staves, sceptres and other insignia. The *ḥqꜣt* sceptre or crook (**3j**) and the *nḫḫw* flail (**3k**) were the king's standard insignia of rule, which the gods are frequently shown handing to him and with which he is most often portrayed. These were also the emblems of Osiris. A primarily divine attribute and symbol of power, the *was* (**3l**) sceptre was held by the king from the Old Kingdom onwards (Fischer 1978: 21–2). In addition, a number of cultic staves (the *ms*, the *mkš*, the *sḫm* (jubilee staves) and symbols of earthly power (the *ḥḏ* mace (**3n**) the *ʿwt* crook (**3o**), the *md* staff (**3p**), the *ḫpš* scimitar (**3q**) were held by the king or handed to him in the course of coronation, jubilee and royal-cult ceremonies (e.g. Lacau and Chevrier 1969; 11, 12; Pl. 17; Baines 1974: n. 24; Fischer 1978; Hassan 1976; David 1981: 38–9).The representation of the king fulfilling his cultic duties before the gods was one of the most persistent and unchanging aspects of official Egyptian iconography. The king is shown before the gods presenting offerings or caring for their images (e.g. Lacau and Chevrier 1969: nos. 14, 23), while the gods confer blessings on him and the land of Egypt. In practice, this office was delegated to the priests. Other ceremonial representations, such as the coronation or the Jubilee (*hb sd*) festival, again show the king in intimate association with deities. The gods and goddesses embrace him (**3b**), give him 'life' i.e. hold an *ankh* to his nose (**1g**), suckle him, hold him as a child on their knees, purify him (**1d**),

13 Bisson de la Roque 1937: 74: Pl. VX: Fig. 26, 79: Fig. 32; Mond and Myers 1940: Pls. XCIX; LXXXVIII: 6, 7; XCIII: 16 a, b; XCLX: 2, 3; Lacau and Chevrier 1969: 9: Pl. 16.

14 Middle Kingdom head-dresses: cf. e.g. for *nemes* and *afnet* head-cloths with uraei; white and red crowns: Lepsius 1849/II Pl. 119; Lacau and Chevrier 1969: Pls. 12: 1, 2; 15: 8; 21:19, 20: 26: 29 ff.; *atef*: Mond and Myers 1940: 8: Pl. XCIX. For the crowns the Pharaoh wears as a deity, see Radwan 1985: Abb. 1–25. For references to crowns, see Abubakr 1937; Strauss 1980: 811–16; 1977: 142–5. Middle Kingdom dress: cf. e.g. apron and tail: Habachi 1963: Figs. 7, 8; collar, straight kilt with plain and decorated aprons and tail: Arnold 1974: Pl. 15; Lange and Hirmer 1967: 92; Bisson de la Roque 1937: collar, pleated, close-fitting kilt with central panel; Habachi 1963: Fig. 6, Pl. XV: Fig. 50. Lacau and Chevrier 1969: Pls. 12 ff. show a variety of kilts. I have used David 1981 for Abydos rather than Calverley and Broome 1933–58 because the former provides easier access to the illustrations.

crown him (**1a**), hand him insignia of power, jubilee staves, flowers and other symbols. The king could also take on the attributes or the image of major deities with whom he was identified in religious dogma or for reasons of prestige e.g. Osiris, Amun, etc. (Baines 1974: 48–9; Habachi 1969; Radwan 1985: 55–8)

The Pharaoh's power was also represented in two other major aspects: that of defender of the realm and of hunter. As defender of the realm he is shown directly smiting an enemy or enemies or running them down in a chariot (**1h** and see below). Hunting scenes in which the Pharaoh's prowess with a harpoon, boomerang, spear or bow were demonstrated were often juxtaposed with and complemented scenes of warfare in Egyptian iconography. The smiting posture, which symbolised the victory of the Pharaoh over the enemy, is one of the hallmarks of Egyptian royal iconography. Its first attestation in an unambigiuous royal context dates to Narmer in the late Pre-dynastic period (Swan Hall 1986: 4–5; Asselberghs 1961: Pl. XCIV: Fig. 168 (Narmer)). The motif continued to be portrayed, with elaborations, until the late Roman period (Swann-Hall 1986: 44).The basic motif shows the striding king holding an enemy by the hair with one hand and raising his right arm at an angle behind him, holding a mace and/or a scimitar. The enemy normally half-kneels and turns his head towards the Pharaoh with one or both arms raised, or falls limply by his side. From the Ist Dynasty (Den), the Pharaoh has the front leg slightly bent at the knee and the back foot raised (Swann-Hall 1986: Fig. 9). This leg position became the standard one. There are few surviving representations of this motif from the Middle Kingdom (Habachi 1963: Figs. 6, 16, 17 (Mentuhotpe)) (**1h**); (Swann-Hall 1986: Fig. 26 (Amenemhet III)). In the New Kingdom the standard motif continued, but variations appear and the context broadened; e.g. the Pharaoh has varying stride lengths, holds and steps on several enemies at one time, smites his enemies from a chariot or smites lions. The iconography of the enemy is also developed: they stand or kneel in groups, or adopt extravagant twisted postures (Swann-Hall 1986: Figs. 28, 29, 32, 49, 52).

Dual Pharaoh

This duality could either represent different aspects of the same figure e.g the Pharaoh as king of Lower and Upper Egypt at his coronation or at the Jubilee festival, or engaged in different rituals. In a set of cultic scenes the Pharaoh could be represented in an array of different crowns (Lepsius 1849: IV Pl. 36a, 115, 116, 151b; Abubakr 1937: 66–8). When the figures are identical, the doubling is usually an artistic convention for the sake of symmetry, that also implies duality.

RAM-HEADED BIRD (**2f**)

In the New Kingdom, Amun-Re and Re-Atum (Calverley 1935: Pls. 5, 10 (New Kingdom); Montet 1951: Pls. CVI, CXXXIII (Late Period)) were represented as ram-headed birds.

RAM-HEADED SPHINX (**1z**)

Ram-headed sphinxes were an aspect of Amun-Re (Otto 1975: 238–9). The manifestation of Amun in this aspect is normally attributed to the New Kingdom, although both Amun (curved horns) and Khnum (horizontal horns) were already linked to Re in the Middle Kingdom (Barta 1984: 172, with n. 358, 359).

Iconography

The sphinx appears predominantly as a motif and figure in solar barques (Otto 1975: 239, 248; Mysliwiec 1978: 39–47) and as the guardian of the Pharaoh, as for example at Karnak, where rows of ram-headed sphinxes, facing ordinary sphinxes, hold the Pharaoh protectively between their paws (Legrain 1929: Figs. 23, 24) (**1z**).

RE-HARAKHTE (**1b**, **3t**)

Harakhte (Horus of the Horizon), the god of the eastern sky (i.e. the morning) was a fusion of Re (the sun god) and Horus. Both gods were fundamentally connected with the monarchy, which was linked to Re and Heliopolis during the IVth and Vth Dynasties (Assmann 1982: 956–61).

Iconography

Re-Harakhte's characteristic crown was a large solar disc, with and without an uraeus (**1b**, **3t** and Lepsius 1849: II Pl. 119). His dress and attributes are otherwise those common to Egyptian male deities. The context in which Re-Harakhte occurs in official religious iconography resembles that of Horus, although he was more prominent as a principal deity. He is represented as a royal god in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, but sources for his cult are more frequent from the New Kingdom.[15]

15 Old Kingdom: e.g. Kaplony 1981: Pl. 88: 23, 96:19; Middle Kingdom: Habachi 1963: Figs. 7, 8; Lepsius 1849: II Pl. 119: first

SA SYMBOL (**2m**, **4y**)

The *sa* was a symbol of protection, closely associated with the lion-demon 'Bes', and with other apotropaic symbols and figures on Middle Kingdom magical wands (Altenmüller 1976: 65–7, and e.g. Figs. 4, 13, 16, 17 (**2m**)).

SETH (**1c**, **1j**)

Seth was traditionally associated with Upper Egypt and the Delta. He played an ambivalent role, both positive and negative, in Egyptian religion. Through his position in mythology as the murderer of Osiris and the enemy of Horus, he came to symbolise disorder and chaos. Through his recurring reconciliation with Horus and his links with Upper Egypt, he acquired the status of a royal patron. This was first manifested during the IInd Dynasty, and particularly stressed during the IInd Intermediate Period and the XIXth Dynasty, whose kings had capitals in the Delta. After the XXth Dynasty, the cult of Seth went into decline (Te Velde 1984: 909–10; 1967). Because of his marginal, disorderly nature, he was associated with foreigners, and had cults in desert and border areas (Te Velde 1967: 110–11, 116–18; 1984: 910). Seth had superhuman strength, and as such played a positive role in solar mythology as the defender of the solar barque against the Apopis snake (Te Velde 1984: 909).

Iconography

The god's emblematic animal was a mythical beast. He is represented either anthropomorphically with an animal head with a long snout and two tall, erect, sometimes truncated, ears with flat tips or as a quadruped with an erect, bifurcated or trifurcated tail (Aldred 1978: Fig. 39). His eyes are characteristically slit and slanted. When anthropomorphic, he wears a standard costume and a wig (**3x**) or sometimes a double crown. In anthropomorphic form, he is juxtaposed with Horus in royal coronation and *sed* festival rituals: embracing, crowning, purifying (**1c**) and guiding the Pharaoh as well as heraldically unifying the land of Egypt (**1j**).[16] Seth traditionally used the spiral-shafted (snake-like?) *ḏʿm*, otherwise identical to the *was* sceptre to kill (Te Velde 1967: 89–90; Gardiner 1978: 541). A link between the *was* sceptre and Seth appears to be a possibility, for the head of the *was* resembles that of Seth, although this could be a later interpretation (Gardiner 1978: 540: n. 1; Fischer 1978: 21–3). As an animal, Seth is represented as a mythological creature in a desert scene[17] and heraldically, often juxtaposed with Horus on seals, scarabs and in the minor arts (Aldred 1978: Fig. 39).

SHEN SYMBOL (**4z**)

Originally this was the antecedent of the cartouche (Gardiner 1978: Sign List V9), described as a 'source of life' in the Middle Kingdom (Jéquier 1921: 336: nos. 855–6), and a symbol of duration, benefits and protection (Müller-Winckler 1984: 578–9).

SPHINX (**1s**, **1t**, **1u**, **1y**, **1w**)

Royal and Solar

The sphinx was primarily a royal and solar animal. He was both a manifestation of the Pharaoh and his symbol, so that he appears in a worshipping pose, as the object of worship, and trampling on enemies (De Wit 1951: 39–54). Before his New Kingdom identification with Harmachis, an aspect of the sun god, at Giza, his solar associations are implicit rather than explicit. Both the lion and the Pharaoh, who constitute most human-headed sphinxes, were closely bound with the sun god. The Pharaoh was the son of Re as well as being closely compared to him, and the lion was linked to solar imagery from the Old Kingdom onwards (Demisch 1977: 20), as well as being identified with Re in the Middle Kingdom (De Wit 1951: 139, on Book of the Dead 169, 1). It has been maintained that the cult of the sphinx at Giza had an independent history which is not applied to the mythology of sphinxes in general (Coche-Zivie 1984: 1144), although the worship of this sphinx as Harmachis in the New Kingdom is not necessarily incompatible with the sphinx's original identity as the king (Demisch 1977: 18), which would anyway have received a cult.

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row; Lacau and Chevrier 1969: Pl. 16; New Kingdom: e.g. David 1981: 62–71.

16 E.g. Lanzone 1882: Pls. CCCLXXIII (embracing), CCCLXXIV (crowning), CCCLXXV (purifying), CCCXXXVI (guiding the Pharaoh while shooting arrows during the Sed festival). Middle Kingdom: Lange and Hirmer 1956: Pls. 85, 86 (binding); Arnold 1974: Pl. 10 (holding jubilee staves), Pl. 14 (holding the Pharaoh by the hand).

17 Desert scenes: e.g. Newberry 1893: Pls. V, XIII; alone or juxtaposed with Horus: e.g. Newberry 1928: Figs. 7, 9–11 (cylinder seals); Matouk 1977: 99–100: nos: 456–65, 383: nos. 508–15 (scarabs); Aldred 1978: 39 (pectoral).

Guardian

Pairs of sphinxes and lions were placed as apotropaic figures on either side of a temple doorway and by pylons (Demisch 1977: 24, 28, Fig. 27, 38, 54, 60). In sacred barques, a sphinx on a standard, wearing the double plumes and horns crown and sometimes stepping on a snake, is identified with Wepwawet ('Opener of the Ways'), a defender of the king and of the underworld (De Wit 1951: 168–9; David 1981: 94 UR2).

Nefertum, the god of the lotus blossom, Hathor and Heka the god of magic had sphinx aspects (De Wit 1951: 236–7; 213–14).

Iconography

The male sphinx, a composite being with a human head and a lion's body, is not attested before the Old Kindom. In Old Kingdom statuary, the sphinx is couchant with his paws stretched out before him, his tail curled on a hind leg, wingless and with or without a beard (Demisch 1977: Fig. 21; Chassinat 1921/22: 65). On a fragmentary relief from Saqqara, he appears in a vanquishing stance with folded wings and with a paw stretched out before him (Jéquier 1940: Pl. 15 ff.). In the minor arts he is represented seated or striding (Kaplony 1981: 23 Pl. 88 (seal impression); Demisch 1977: Fig. 24 (amulet)). He wears the *nemes* head-cloth, a skull cap or a wig. In the Middle Kingdom, the iconography of the couchant and trampling sphinx remains similar. When couchant, sphinxes are generally bearded, wear the *nemes* head-cloth and sometimes have a lion's mane and ears.[18] Little evidence of sphinxes with crowns survives from Egypt for this period: the griffin, whose iconography is closely related to that of the sphinx, is shown in the double plume and horns crown with uraeus (Aldred 1978: Fig. 29) (**2a**). In the New Kingdom, the basic sphinx iconography is perpetuated, with such elaborations as couchant sphinxes with human arms lifted in adoration, holding an offering or a cartouche being first attested in the XVIIIth Dynasty (Demisch 1977: Fig. 47; see below). The greater number of surviving representations from the New Kingdom show a wide variety of crowns beside the traditional *nemes* and uraeus, e.g. the double, the blue, *atef*, the double plumes and disc, the solar disc.[19] Winged sphinxes are less common than wingless ones and are of two main types. One, attested from the Old Kingdom onwards (see above) is iconographically identical to the griffon and has wings folded against the body (Demisch 1977: Fig. 64). The second is particular to a group first represented in New Kingdom minor arts whose wings on the masculine example are fully raised (Demisch 1977: Fig. 61) (**1y**). The winged sphinx also occurs on New Kingdom scarabs (e.g. Hornung and Staehelin 1976: 352, AB; Demisch 1977: Fig. 53).

The smiting or trampling sphinx

By far the most characteristic stance of the trampling sphinx in Egypt is the one with an extended foreleg. This is adopted by both sphinxes and griffins in monumental art from the Old Kingdom onwards (Demisch 1977: 30–3). When in this stance, or trampling on enemies on all fours, the animals wear the *nemes*; the double plumes and horns, the blue and the *atef* crowns (e.g. Daressy 1902: Pl. XXI: 24137, 24138).

Female sphinxes

These are rare before the New Kingdom. They may be attested in the Old Kingdom (De Wit 1951: 41; Demisch 1977: 17). In the Middle Kingdom, the sphinx of Princess Ita, the daughter of Amenemhet II, from Qatna shows her in a straight wig.[20] In the New Kingdom, female sphinxes are of two main types. The first is the couchant (Demisch 1977: Fig. 31), passant or trampling royal sphinx, with or without head-dresses and crowns (e.g. the vulture head-dress, the Hathor wig) and a feminine physiognomy, even though sometimes bearded or maned.[21] The second type has raised wings with folded tips (Helck 1955: Figs. a, c, d, e, g; Liebowitz 1987: Fig. 3). These are represented couchant beside a tree or a cartouche, or holding a cartouche with human arms, and have floral head-dresses, broad collars and sometimes a rosette medallion (Demisch 1977: 26–7; Helck 1955: 2, Figs. a–e; see also Liebowitz 1987: 7–8, Figs. 5–7). Helck has compared their head-dresses to those of Cretan women, and these sphinxes in general to Mycenean ones, but suggests that the original prototypes were Egyptian. He com-

18 E.g. Evers 1929: Pls. 48–50 (Amenemhet III), Pl. 79 (Sesostris III); Borchardt 1925: 393, 394, 421, 530 (XIIIth Dynasty, IInd Intermediate period).

19 E.g. N. de G. Davies 1930 Pl. XIX (double); Daressy 1902: Pl. XXI: 24136, 24142 (blue); 24138 (*atef*); Naville 1870 : Pl. XVIII (triple); Hassan 1949: Fig. 32 (double plumes, solar disc and ram's horns); Hassan 1953: Fig. 116 (solar disc and uraei).

20 Du Mesnil du Buisson 1928: Pl. XII. Other Middle Kingdom female sphinxes found at Ugarit are mutilated: Schaeffer 1933: Pl. 15; 1939 Pl. 3: 2.

21 De Wit 1951: 54–6; Lepsius 1849/V/3: Pl. 82: i; von Bissing 1911–14: Pl. 37 (vulture); N. de G. Davies 1943: Pl. XXXVII (Hathor wig); Demisch 1977: 40 (beard and mane).

pares the wings in particular to those of the lapwing (*rhjt* bird) (Helck 1955: 3, 4, 9; Houlihan 1986: 93). See further for these sphinxes' iconography.

The sphinx and snakes

Several subjects related to solar and apotropaic mythology from the New Kingdom to the Late Period evoke the motif of the sphinx trampling on a snake or snakes, as shown on e.g. **142–3, 145**. There appear to be no parallels for the motif of the sphinx treading on wriggling snakes prior to these periods. 1) Sphinxes and lions on sacred barque standards are represented on all fours standing on cobras. They wear the double plume and horns crown and are essentially defenders of the barque.[22] 2) A Late Period statuette of a sphinx standing on two cobras wearing a ram's horns, disc and plumes crown has been identified as a manifestation of the god Atum (Mysliwiec 1978: Pls. VI–VII, 24–5; 175–6), but may equally be another defender of the barque (Baines, personal communication). 3) A sphinx decorating the side of a ship in the Tomb of Huy at Thebes wears a horns and disc head-dress and tramples on snakes. He is associated with the smiting falcon god Montu (N. de G. Davies 1926: Pl. XXXI) (**1t**). 4) The Tutu or Tithoes sphinx of the 3rd to the 1st centuries BC, which can be represented with a number of different heads and attributes, but is essentially a human-headed sphinx with a snake-like tail, treading with snake-like paws on snakes (Sauneron 1960: 269–87, Pls. X–XVI: **1u**; Demisch 1977: 34–7). This sphinx was an apotropaic magical being, the chief emissary of the goddesses Sekhmet, Bastet, Nekhbet and Neith (Sauneron 1960: 283). The iconography of Tutu can be related to that of figures on Middle Kingdom apotropaic knives.[23]

Pairs of sphinxes

The placing of antithetical pairs of couchant or passant sphinxes beside doors or pylons in monumental architecture from the Old Kingdom onwards has been mentioned above. This was also a favourite motif in the minor arts, where sphinxes or griffins are found couchant, passant or in a trampling pose associated with *ankh*s, cartouches, vases or a tree (Demisch 1977: 26–7; Figs. 47, 61 (**1y**); Helck 1955: 2, Figs. a, c, d, e, g; Aldred 1978: Fig. 29 (griffins)).

The sphinx and the Hathor head

The link between Hathor and sphinxes is demonstrated in Egypt through the sphinx as a royal female and its consequent associations with Hathor, through the link between her and the Pharaoh, through her solar and tree associations and her leonine nature (see Hathor). Hathor can be shown as a sphinx (De Wit 1951: 236–7, 213–14) or sphinxes can be shown in association with Hathor symbols; thus at Serabit el Khadim, two sphinxes flank a Hathoric pillar motif with two arms holding out *ankh*s (Gardiner, Peet and Černý 1955: 202: Pl. LXII: **1w**); and sphinxes of Queen Teje at Sedeinga stride on either side of a Hathor head in an heraldic composition (Demisch 1977: Fig. 28). Hathor symbols are more commonly shown flanked by felines (cats) (Pinch 1993: 188–90; Wildung 1974: Figs. 11, 12, 15, 16) but from the New Kingdom, cats, sphinxes and lions were often used interchangeably in the minor arts (Winlock 1948: 30–1).

The sphinx and the tree

In Egypt a number of related concepts from non-royal solar and mortuary mythology, including the association with Hathor as a solar and tree goddess, could have linked sacred trees to the sphinx.[24] A late relief from the temple of Mut at Karnak, for example, shows a sphinx couchant by an obelisk, with a 'sacred' tree behind him (Hassan 1953: Fig. 134). However, there seems to be no trace of this in the official cult. A direct association between sphinxes and trees in Egypt is first attested in the minor arts of the New Kingdom (**1y**) in motifs that show mixed Levantine and Egyptian iconography. This association can be attributed to Levantine influence and is to be differentiated from the Egyptian association of sphinxes with lotus offerings (Hassan 1949: Fig. 32).[25] The

22 Demisch 1977: 26–7; Helck 1955: 2, Figs. a–e; Liebowitz 1987: 7–8, Figs. 5–7; de Wit 1951: 32. For Horus falcons trampling on cobras above the *serekh*: see Kaplony 1981: e.g. Pls. 13: 4, 14: 12, 51: 7; and Seth on cobras: Kaplony 1981 Pl. 170: 121.

23 On the wands, a lion, but not a sphinx, sometimes holding a knife between his paws, is placed beneath snakes, or tears at them. Besides this general association with snakes and knives, other figures on the wands (the lion-demon, the vulture, the crocodile, the griffin), also occur with Tutu or are sometimes merged with him: cf. Altenmüller 1965: Figs. 1–30; 1986: Fig. 1; with Sauneron 1960: 277–82, Table 1, Pls. XIII, XIV; Demisch 1977: Figs. 78–80.

24 The importance of the sycamore and of the date palm as seats of the sun god Re and thus as solar trees and as 'trees of life' is attested in Egypt from the Old Kingdom (Hermsen 1981: 62–115).

25 The sphinx is directly associated with flower offerings, as when two sphinxes face each other over a lotus, or the sphinx holds a lotus in his paws (Hassan 1953: Pl. LXVIII; 1949: 136–7, Fig. 32). See also Hornung and Staehelin 1976: 127, e.g. no. 644.

sphinxes in mixed Levantine (fully raised wings) and Egyptian (attitudes) style, briefly mentioned above, are winged and lie or stand beside stylised trees. The majority of the sphinxes are couchant females, in floral head-dresses and sometimes a rosette necklace, who raise their arms, palm outwards, towards the tree (Helck 1955: Figs. a, c, d, e, g). Male sphinxes are represented standing beside the tree (Demisch 1977: Figs. 53, 61: **1y**). The floral head-dresses of the female sphinxes (Liebowitz 1987: Fig. 3) are generally reminiscent of Hathoric or New Kingdom royal female crowns and those of the sphinxes on Tutenkhamun's tunic are particularly close to those worn by Amenophis III's concubines depicted in the tomb of Menna at Thebes (Aldred 1978: 119: Fig. 47). The rosette, originally associated with the griffin and the sphinx in Middle Bronze Age Syrian iconography (e.g. **161**), is also associated as a solar symbol with the lion in Egypt from the Old Kingdom (Pongracz 1957: 213–14) and with the griffin in Late Bronze Age Crete (Hood 1978, Fig. 506). Equally the tree in these examples is either a palm or a combination of stylised palm, lotus and papyrus. The feminine aspect of this motif is emphasised in Egypt where it is found in the decoration of cosmetic articles (Bénèdite 1911: 50, Pl. XVII: no. 18614).

URAEUS

The uraeus, represented as a rearing cobra, was a major royal and solar symbol. Given to the Pharaoh by Geb, the 'father of the gods', as an acknowledgement of the Pharaoh's right to the throne, its role was to protect the Pharaoh and annihilate his enemies. It similarly defended the Sun god, Re, around whose disc it was wrapped (**2g**, **4q**), and was identified as the solar eye (Martin 1986: 864–6). It was primarily linked to the cobra goddess of Buto in Lower Egypt, Wadjet, but through its role in solar mythology it was identified with the solar eye (Allam 1963: 109–12; Münster 1968: 106–10 ; and n. 1 for Uto/Wadjet, Werner-Elfert 1986: 907) and worn by major goddesses who were intimately associated with Re, such as Hathor, Isis, or by Wadjet herself. It is attested on a Hathor crown from the IInd Dynasty (Troy 1986: 119; Kaplony 1963: 748: Pl. 125).

VULTURE (**2g**, **4m**, **4n**)

Nekhbet, originally the vulture goddess of Nekheb (El Kab) in southern Egypt, became the tutelary goddess of Upper Egypt. Nekhbet's primary characteristic was that of protective goddess to the Pharaoh. Another aspect, as a protective mother goddess, is attested from the Old Kingdom on (Capart 1946; van Voss 1982: 366–7).

Iconography

The goddess's iconography reflects both these aspects. She can be represented as a vulture (**2g**, **4m**, **4n**) or anthropomorphically (e.g. David 1981: 92, 93: LR2). As a royal goddess in bird form she is conventionally depicted on monuments hovering protectively over the king, with *shen*, *ankh* or jubilee symbols in her claws. Like the Horus falcon, she was an ubiquitous motif in the arts.

Vulture head-dress

The head-dress was symbolic of the vulture Nekhbet, the tutelary goddess of Upper Egypt. It was a specifically feminine head-dress, worn by a number of goddesses (n. 1) and by queens from the Old Kingdom onwards (Troy 1986). It was frequently worn with the uraeus or cobra diadem which was essentially identified with Wadjet, Nekhbet's Lower Egyptian counterpart.

WḎ3T EYE (**1d**, **5e**)

This symbol represents the 'sound' eye of Horus, originally stolen by Seth and returned by Thoth. It was thus considered a symbol of wholeness or perfection, and had apotropaic powers. It is frequently associated with solar and lunar symbolism, as well as apotropaically on coffins, sarcophagi (Gardiner 1978: Sign List D10; Müller-Winckler 1968: 824) and wands (**5e**). Apart from mortuary contexts it occurs chiefly as an amulet.

WINGED GODDESSES (**1i**)

The mythology of Isis and Nephthys as a pair is much in evidence in the Pyramid and Coffin texts. Isis and Nephthys were sisters, married to Osiris, their brother and Seth respectively (Von Beckerath 1980: 193–4; Graefe 1982: 458; Münster 1968: 148–9). Their roles, in which Isis was dominant, are defined chiefly through these associations. They occur in two principal and related contexts: royal and mortuary. Isis bears the king, and both suckle him and protect him and his throne; but more importantly, they wail and mourn him when he dies, and lead the Osiris king to the sky (Faulkner 1969: e.g. 547, 584, 606, 628, 872, 939, 960, 1004, 1089). The source of their iconography lies in references to them as two screeching birds, who fly in, one from the East and the other from the West, to assist Osiris. Isis is described as being before the king, and Nephthys as behind him

(Faulkner 1967: I, e.g. 74, 300, 303 ff.).

Iconography

The goddesses are traditionally represented anthropomorphically with their respective hieroglyphs (Isis: throne; Nephthys: enclosure and basket) on their heads (Lepsius 1849: II Pl. 119). They are wigged, and can wear the uraeus and/or the vulture head-dress, or be crownless. They are not winged in ordinary cultic contexts, and are dressed in standard costume and carry the *ankh* and *was* sceptre (e.g. David 1981: 30 LRc). Representations of Isis and Nephtys from the Middle Kingdom are rare. They occur as a pair in an ordinary cultic context on the Begig stela (Lepsius 1849: II Pl. 119). As already mentioned in reference to Isis, in funerary contexts they are named on coffins and canopic equipment, and occasionally named and represented as wingless, anthropomorphic females with raised arms at the ends of coffins (Hayes 1953: 314, 325, 347; Lacau 1904: nos. 28028–30). In funerary barques they are probably to be identified with the two figures normally depicted attending the funeral. In the burial ritual the roles of Isis and Nephthys were enacted by priestesses. Representations of winged anthropomorphic females with the characteristics of Isis and Nephtys have to date not been attested from Middle Kingdom Egypt. In New Kingdom funerary contexts, they appear with open wings or wingless, standing protectively behind Osiris, kneeling at one end of a bier or sarcophagus, or guarding and protecting royal and solar symbols (Hayes 1953: 271–2; Graefe 1982: 458). They can also appear as hawks or kites, standing on or at either end of a bier.[26]

WINGED SUN DISC (e.g. **2j**, **2l**, **2n**, **3b**, **4r**)

The symbol was a conflation of different cosmological and royal concepts. According to Gardiner, its prototype occurs on a Ist Dynasty comb from Abydos. There, a pair of falcon wings is shown above the *serekh* and Horus falcon of the king, surmounted by a solar barque in which there is another falcon. The wings are the protective wings of Horus associated with the sun and with the king (*serekh*, Horus) (Petrie 1925: Pl. 12: 5; Gardiner 1944: 49). The solar and royal aspect of this image were fused by the IIIrd Dynasty: the solar disc was incorporated between the wings with uraei (Gardiner 1944: 50–1). The whole symbol was then associated with the royal cartouche (Radwan 1975: 213–17, Dok. 1). From the VIth Dynasty, epithets describe the winged disc as '*bhdt*' ('he of Behdet'), an epithet which refers to Horus of Behdet (Gardiner 1944: 49; Wildung 1977: 278). From the Middle Kingdom the symbol was linked to Horus of Edfu, probably to be identified with Behdet (Wildung 1977: 278–9). The winged sun disc expresses the close association between Horus, the Sun god, Re, and the Pharaoh. Differences in the interpretation of this symbol have been ones of emphasis, with some scholars stressing its solar aspect (Baines and Malek 1980: 227) and others its royal one (Wildung 1977: 278–9).

Iconography

The basic components of the winged sun disc from the Old Kingdom are relatively standard – a sun disc encircled by a pair of uraei, flanked by two outstretched falcon wings – although details such as the length and placement of wings, the size of disc and the placement of uraei were modified through the Middle and New Kingdoms (Werbrouck 1941: 165–71; Radwan 1975: 219–23, 225, 227–9). In the Middle Kingdom, wings and uraei were variously represented. The former could be horizontal (**2n**, **4r**) or inclined (**4q**) with clearly defined feathers, especially at the tips. The wings were segmented into one or two feathered parts, or one or two plain parts. The uraei either reared on either side of the solar disc, encircling or detached from it (**2n**, **4r**), or reared directly above it (Radwan 1975: 218, Dok. 3) or hung below it (**4q**). In the latter case they could hold *shen* symbols. The winged disc was used ubiquitously in the upper part of architectural elements (cornices, pylons) or above the figure of the Pharaoh on temple reliefs, stelae, tomb paintings from the New Kingdom on, and in the minor arts. When above the Pharaoh or his cartouche,the wings can swoop downwards, or can the uraei hold *ankh, djed* or *shen* symbols (Radwan 1975: Dok. 18–20 for Middle Kingdom references). Arms attached to the disc could drop down holding the cartouche or symbols (Radwan 1975: e.g. 222–3, Dok. 18 (**2l**)-20). The symbol appears under the sign for the heavens and was never associated with a support but always free-flying. It is perhaps significant for the adoption of the motif in the Levant that the symbol became common on royal stelae of the XIIth Dynasty (Wildung 1977: 279, n. 8; Vandier 1954: 491–2). It is also found above non-royal figures (nomarch Emhab: Baines 1986: 52) but very rarely.

26 Lepsius 1849: III Pl. 232; Frankfort 1933: Pl. 49; Faulkner 1972: 122 (sp. 28), 146–8 (sp. 151); Aldred 1978: Figs. 64, 66, 82, 106; Faulkner 1972: 43 upper right; see also Schmidt 1919 for winged and unwinged examples on sarcophagi e.g. nos. 530, 563, 571, 817 and esp. 820–1.

APPENDIX B

1 SEALS REGISTER

Provenanced seals in bold
Measurements in millimetres
Key publications only
Asterisk after number = photograph

1	Louvre AO 22380 (ex de Clercq). Haematite 22 x 11 De Clercq and Menant 1888: no. 386	Period IIB
2	Louvre AO 22363. Haematite 25 x 13 De Clercq and Menant 1888: no. 388; Ward 1910: no. 820; Keel 1989b: no. 3	Period IIB
3	Erlenmeyer 1961: Pl. LX: 49. No material given, chipped 23 x 12	Period III
4	Brussels (MRAH). Haematite 24 x 13 Speleers 1943: no. 1380; Safadi: no. 97	Period IIB
5*	Seyrig 150 (BN). Said to be from Amrit. Haematite 14.7 x 7.7 Seyrig 1963: Pl. XXI: 4, 258–9 n. 1	Period IIB
6	Marcopoli: Haematite 19 x 9 Teissier 1984: no. 523	Period IIB
7	**Alalakh** impression on envelope *c.* 20 x 9 Collon 1975: no. 147	Period IIB
8	Berlin (VA). Haematite 17 x 10 Moortgat 1940: no. 546	Period IIB
9	**Ras Shamra** 5. 175 (acquired). Haematite 24 x ? Schaeffer-Forrer 1983: 22; Amiet 1992: no. 42	Period IIB
10*	Rosen 07003. Haematite 22 x 8	Period IIB
11*	Seyrig 80. Haematite 23 x 9.5 Chipped	Period IIB
12*	Seyrig 24. Haematite 22 x 10	Period III
13	Yale (NBC). Haematite 22 x 15/14 Buchanan 1981: no. 1218	Period III
14	Marcopoli. Haematite 18.5 x 9.5 Teisssier 1984: no. 521	Period IIB
15	Marcopoli. Haematite 20 x 10 Teissier 1984: no. 520	Period III
16*	Rosen 02475. Haematite 17 x 8.3	Period IIB
17	Rosen 03822. Haematite 18.8 x 12	Period IIB
18	Marcopoli. Serpentine 21 x 10 Chipped, faint Teissier 1984: no. 515	Period IIB
19	Montreal (FAM). 'Silicieous limonite' 20 x 9 Meek 1943: 25 no. 2	Period III
20	Marcopoli. Haematite 20 x 7 Teissier 1984: no. 519	Period IIB
21	Ex de Clercq. Haematite 23 x 14 De Clercq and Menant 1888: no. 392; Ward 1910: no. 543; Schroer 1989: Fig. 0159	Period IIB
22	**Alalakh** impression on envelope Collon 1975: no. 136; Safadi 1974: Figs. 151, 153; Schroer 1989: Fig. 0170	Period IIB
23	Tanis Collection. 'Black stone' 35 x 11 Zettler 1977: Fig. 2	Period IIB
24	Moore. Haematite 21 x 9 Eisen 1940: no. 160; Williams-Forte 1976: no. 27	Period III
25	Montreal (MFA). 'Siliceous magnetite' 19 x 10 Meek 1943: no. 3	Period IIB
26	Aulock. Steatite 22 x 11 Von der Osten 1957: no. 300	Period IIB
27	BN 481. Haematite 20 x 10	Period IIB
28	BM 134852. Haematite 2 x 11	Period III

29	Jerusalem (IAA) 34.1246. No dimensions given Parker 1949: no. 179; Rowe 1936: S 58	Period III
30	Pierpont Morgan Library. Steatite 18 x 10.5 Ward 1910: no. 810; Keel 1989b: no. 40	Period III
31	Metropolitan L55.49.207. Haematite 18.5 x 10	Period IIB
32	Chiha. Haematite 20 x 11 Doumet 1992: no. 290	Period IIB
33	Metropolitan 66.76.3. Haematite 12 x 7	Period IIB
34	Yale (Newell). Haematite 16 x 8.5 Buchanan 1981 no. 1243; von der Osten 1934: no. 320	Period IIA
35	Yale (RBC) 1053. Haematite 22 x 12	Period IIB
36*	Fribourg, Institut Biblique 293. Haematite 20 x 10 Sotheby's Sale Catalogue 1992: no. 157	Period IIA
37	Louvre AO 10855. Haematite 20 x 10 Amiet 1973: no. 375; *idem* 1982: Fig. 8; Schroer 1989: Fig. 040	Period IIB
38	Baltimore (WAG) 42.407. Haematite 21 x? Gordon 1939: no. 40	Period IIA
39	Ashmolean Museum. Haematite 18 x 10 Buchanan 1966: no. 885	Period IIA
40	Chiha. Haematite 19 x 10 Doumet 1992: no. 288	Period IIA
41	**Lefkoniko Athienica, Cyprus.** No material or dimensions given Schaeffer-Forrer 1983: 62, Chypre A	Period IIA
42	BM 89514. Haematite 22 x 10	Period IIB
43	Moore. Haematite 25 x 13 Eisen 1940: no. 142	Period IIB
44	Damascus Museum 113. Haematite 25 x 13 Kühne 1980: no. 38	Period III
45	Louvre A 920. Haematite 22 x 11 Delaporte 1923: Pl. 96 Fig. 10; Frankfort 1939: Pl. XLIVc	Period IIB
46	Marcopoli. Haematite 19 x 9 Teissier 1984: no. 454	Period IIB
47	Louvre AO 10.395. Haematite 24 x 12 Amiet 1973: no. 382	Period IIB
48	BM 89811. Haematite 19 x 10.5 Ward 1910: no. 936	Period IIB
49	BN. Haematite 24 x 13 Delaporte 1910: no. 492; Ward 1910: no. 937	Period IIB
50	**Byblos.** Haematite 22 x 13 Dunand 1927–39: Pl. CXXIV no. 1862b	Period IIB
51	Brett. Haematite 21 x 12 Von der Osten 1936: no. 87; Frankfort 1939: Pl. XLIIg	Period IIB
52	**Kish.** Louvre AO 10.528 'Black stone', worn chipped 21.4 x 11 De Genouillac 1925: Pl. XIII: 13	Period IIB
53	BN. Haematite 16 x 8 Delaporte 1910: no. 482	Period IIB
54	Damascus Museum 71. Haematite 22.5 x 12, worn, chipped Kühne 1980: no. 59	Period IIB
55	Yale (RBC) 1055. Haematite, chipped 15 x 8	Period IIB
56	BM 126331. Haematite 24 x 11.5	Period IIA
57	Pierpont Morgan Library. Haematite 20 x 10 Ward 1910: no. 812; Porada 1948: no. 998	Period IIB
58	Marcopoli. Haematite, worn, chipped 15 x 7 Teissier 1984: no. 518	Period IIB
59	Louvre AO 10.860. Haematite 15 x 6	Period IIB
60	**Poros, Crete** HM 2347. Green jasper 21 x 10.5 Lebessi 1967: Pl. 192; Kenna 1969: Figs. 3–6; Møller 1980: no. 5; Collon 1986a: no. 5; Keel 1989a: no. 5	Period III

61	UC 11616. Green jasper 29.5 x 15 Petrie 1917: Pl. XIX: 14; Frankfort 1926: 92, Fig. 6; *idem* 1939: 259; Ward 1965: 41, no. 4; Pl. V no. 3; Collon 1986a: no. 1; Keel 1989a: no. 1	Period III
62	Chiha. Black serpentine 22 x 11.5 Doumet 1992: no. 291	Period III
63	BM 123824. Haematite 23 x 10 Smith 1933–4: Pl. IXd	Period IIB
64	Brooklyn Museum. Haematite 16.9 x 7.5 Noveck 1975: no. 29	Period III
65	BN. Haematite 20 x 10 Delaporte 1910: no. 491; Ward 1910: no. 808	Period IIB
66	Marcopoli. Serpentine, chipped 20 x 10 Teissier 1984: no. 516	Period IIB
67	BN. Haematite 19 x 10 Delaporte 1910: no. 483; Ward 1910: no. 816	Period IIB
68	Louvre AO 26401. Plaster impression c. 40mm height. Present whereabouts of seal unknown. Amiet and Nougayrol 1962: Fig. 1; Safadi 1974: Fig. 174; Collon 1987: no. 543; Keel 1989b: no. 5	Period IIB
69	**Alalakh** impression on envelope Collon 1975: no. 144; Keel 1989b: no. 4	Period IIB
70	Gulbenkian Museum of Art, Durham N 2408. Haematite 20 x 10 Lambert 1979: Pl. VI: no. 44	Period IIB
71	Louvre AO 22634 (ex de Clercq 389). Jasper 23 x 13 Frankfort 1936: Fig. 7; Ward 1910: no. 822; Ward 1965: Pl. V: no. 4; Collon 1986a: no. 4; *eadem* 1987: no. 204; Keel 1989a: no. 4; Keel 1989b: no. 6	Period IIB
72	Yale 1258 (NCBS 707). Jasper 21 x 12 Buchanan 1981: no. 1258; Keel 1989b: no. 10	Period III
73	Moore. Basalt 20 x 10 Eisen 1940: no. 180; Keel 1989b: no. 36	Period III
74	Yale 1230. Haematite, chipped 1.5 x 7.5 Buchanan 1981: no. 1230; von der Osten 1934: no. 317	Period IIA
75*	Seyrig 97. Jasper 18.8 x 10.4	Period III
76	Present whereabouts unknown, material and dimensions unavailable (source of photograph D. Collon)	Period IIA
77	**Alalakh** impression on tablet, height of impression *c.* 17 x 9 Collon 1975: no. 194; Teissier 1990: Fig. 1; Malek forthcoming *Levant*	Period IIA/B
78	Hotel Drouot Catalogue 1966: no. 126. Haematite 16 x 8	Period IIA
79	Christie's Catalogue, July 1992 no. 54. Haematite 20 x ?	Period IIB
80*	Rosen 04955. Haematite 28 x 11	Period IIB
81*	Seyrig 168. Haematite 18.8 x 9.6	Period IIB
82	Marcopoli. Haematite 21 x 10 Teissier 1984: no. 522	Period IIB
83	**Alalakh** impression on envelope, *c.* 20 x 9 Collon 1975: no. 148	Period IIB
84	Brussels (MRAH) 0.501. Haematite 26 x 12.5 Speleers 1917: 203-4, no. 501; Safadi 1974: Abb. 74; Collon 1982: Fig. 3b; *eadem* 1987: no. 776	Period IIA
85	Boston (MFA) 98-701. Haematite 24 x 11 Frankfort 1939: Pl. XLIr; Safadi 1974: Abb. 159	Period IIB
86	Pierpont Morgan Library 997. Haematite 21 x 10, chipped edges Porada 1948: no. 997	Period IIA
87	Rawlinson collection (no number available). Jasper, chipped edges 21 x ?, Collon 1986a: no. 12	Period IIB
88	Brett. Haematite, large chip 26 x 12 Von der Osten 1936: no. 88	Period IIB
89	Fitzwilliam Museum E 515.1954. Haematite, chipped 22 x10 Munn-Rankin 1959: no. 24	Period III

90	Ashmolean Museum. Haematite 19 x 9 Buchanan 1966: no. 883	Period IIB
91	Ashmolean Museum. Haematite 29 x 13 Buchanan 1966: no. 867	Period IIA
92	Pierpont Morgan Library. Limonite 21 x 10.5 Ward 1910: no. 886; Porada 1948: no. 993	Period IIB
93	Munich (Staatliche Münzsammlung 93893). Haematite 22 x 9.4 Küthman 1964: Fig. 18	Period IIB
94	Brussels (MRAH). Haematite 19 x 9 Speleers 1943: 171–2	Period IIB
95*	BM 129585. Haematite, chipped 21 x 12	Period IIA
96	Ashmolean Museum. Haematite, chipped 21 x 12 Buchanan 1966: no. 858	Period IIB
97	Pierpont Morgan Library. Haematite 20 x 11 Ward 1910: no. 867; Porada 1948: no. 950; Safadi 1974: Abb. 91	Period IIA
98	Brussels (MRAH) 0.481. Haematite, worn 22 x 11 Speleers 1917: 205	Period IIA
99	Pierpont Morgan Library. Haematite 18 x 10 Ward 1910: no. 905; Porada 1948: no. 996	Period IIB
100	Marcopoli. Haematite 20 x 10 Teissier 1984: no. 539	Period IIA
101	Ashmolean Museum. Haematite 18 x 10 Buchanan 1966: no. 870	Period IIA
102	Damascus 89. Haematit 18.5 x 8.5 Kühne 1980: no. 37	Period IIB
103	Yale. Haematite, chipped edges 21 x 11.5 Ward 1910: no. 944; von der Osten 1934: no. 337; Buchanan 1981: no. 1276	Period IIA
104	Moore L55.49.201. Haematite 23 x 10 Williams-Forte 1976: no. 63	Period IIB
105	**Enkomi-Alasia** 13.093. Haematite 24 x 11.5 Schaeffer-Forrer 1983: 57; Keel 1989b: no. 68	Period IIB
106	Basle, ex Erlenmeyer collection 788. Present whereabouts unknown. Material unknown, *c.* 17 x 9 (photo J. Asher-Greve)	Period IIA
107	Brussels (MRAH) 0.1455. Haematite 21 x 11 Speleers 1943: 158; Safadi 1974: no. 85	Period IIA
108	BM 130665. Haematite 18.5 x 7	Period IIB
109*	BM 89122. Haematite 21 x 11	
110	Moore L55.49.192. Haematite 18 x 11 Eisen 1940: no. 141	Period IIB
111*	Seyrig 44. Haematite 22.4 x 13	Period IIA
112	Marcopoli. Haematite 19 x 8 Teissier 1984: no. 460	Period IIB
113	Brussels (MRAH) 0.1381. Haematite 24 x 13	Period IIA
114	Pierpont Morgan Library. Haematite, chipped 27 x 12 Ward 1910: no. 866; Porada 1948: no. 943	Period IIA
115	Marcopoli. Haematite 17.5 x 8 Teissier 1984: no. 466	Period IIB
116	BN. Haematite 18 x 10 Delaporte 1910: no. 489; Safadi 1974: no. 88	Period IIB
117	Pierpont Morgan Library. Haematite 26.5 x 14 Porada 1948: no. 948	Period IIA
118	Fribourg, Institut Biblique 289. Haematite 22.2 x 12.5 Schroer 1985: no. 44.	Period IIA
119	Yale (BC). Haematite 21 x 12 Buchanan 1981: no. 1220	Period III
120	**Vounous, Cyprus.** Plaster impression only, material and dimensions unknown Schaeffer-Forrer 1983: 69-70	Period IIA

121	Marcopoli. Haematite 19 x 10 Teissier 1984: no. 517	Period IIB
122	Pierpont Morgan Library. Haematite 20 x 9 Ward 1910: no. 940; Porada 1948: no. 963; Keel 1989d: no. 65	Period IIA
123	Fribourg, Biblical Institute, BIF VR 129. Green jasper 14.4 x 8 Collon 1985: no. 22; Keel 1989c: no. 107	Period IIA
124	Aulock. Haematite, chipped 19.5 x 10 Von der Osten 1957: no. 296	Period IIA
125	**Alalakh** impression on envelope *c.* 10.5 diameter Collon 1975: no. 149	Period IIB
126*	BM. 116155 Haematite 20 x 9.5	Period IIB
127	Metropolitan Museum 1984.383.19. Haematite 17 x 8 Pittman 1987: no. 55	Period III
128	**Karahüyük** impression on jar stopper. *c.* 12 height Alp 1968: 23, 116–7, Pl. 34 no. 88	Period IIA
129	Seyrig 59. Haematite 19.6 x 11	Period IIB
130*	Rosen 07002. Haematite 22 x 11.2	Period IIA–B
131	Yale (Newell). Haematite, chipped 24 x 13.5 Buchanan 1981: no. 1279; von der Osten 1934: no. 297; Frankfort 1939: Pl. XLIIh	Period IIA
132*	Seyrig 114. Haematite 19 x 9.9	Period IIB
133	Institut Biblique, Fribourg 132. Haematite 31.3 x 17 Collon 1985: no. 19; Keel and Uehlinger 1990: Fig. 39	Period IIA
134	Yale (Newell). Haematite 23.5 x 13.5 Buchanan 1981: no. 1210; von der Osten 1934: no. 348; Collon 1985: no. 18	Period IIA
135	**Carthage.** Jasper? 23 x 13 Amiet 1955: Pl. I no.1; Collon 1986a: no. 22	Period IIA
136	Rosen Obsidian 2.4 x ? Collon 1986a: no. 24; *eadem* 1987: no. 192	Period IIA
137	Moore, Metropolitan L.55.49.225 Haematite 20 x 11 Williams-Forte 1976: no. 3	Period IIA
138	**Chypre** A18. Haematite, chipped 26. 1 x 13.2 Schaeffer-Forrer 1983: 66; Keel 1989b: no. 109	Period IIA
139	Yale (Newell). Haematite 22.5 x 10 Buchanan 1981: no.1221; von der Osten 1934: no. 298; Frankfort 1939: Pl. XLIj	Period I–IIA
140	Metropolitan Museum 24.187. Haematite, chipped 24 x 10	Period III
141	Louvre AO 10.862 Haematite 23 x 12	Period IIB
142*	Marcopoli. Haematite 20 x 12.5 Teissier 1984: no. 552	Period IIB
143	Moore. Magnetite, chipped 22 x 11 Eisen 1940: no. 134; Williams-Forte 1976: no. 10; Collon 1985: no. 20; Keel 1989a: no. 38	Period IIA
144	Metropolitan 66.76.2 184985. Haematite 12 x ?	Period IIB
145	BM 129583. Haematite 20 x 12	Period IIB
146	Pierpont Morgan Library. Haematite 16 x 8 Ward 1910: no. 811; Porada 1948: no. 981	Period III
147	Yale (Newell). Haematite, top broken 20 x 11 Ward 1910: no. 941; von der Osten 1934: no. 310; Buchanan 1981: no. 1275	Period IIB
148	**Mari,** impression on 'clay fragment' Parrot 1959: 190–1, Pl. XLVIII: no. 43	Period IIA
149*	BM 134853. Haematite 11 x 22	Period IIA
150	Pierpont Morgan Library. Haematite 19 x 10 Porada 1948: no. 985; Demisch 1977: Fig. 143; Keel 1989d: no. 31	Period IIA
151	**Qatna.** 'Lydite, basalt' 22 x ? Mesnil du Buisson 1927: Pl. XV: no. 1	Period IIB
152*	BM 126338. Haematite 26 x 14	Period IIB
153	Aleppo 4654. Haematite 19 x 10 Hammade 1987: no. 159	Period IIA
154*	BM 116158. Haematite, chipped 19 x 9.5	Period IIB

155	Yale (NBC). Haematite, chipped 26.5 x 14 Buchanan 1981: no. 1228	Period IIA
156	Seyrig 46. Haematite, chipped 24.2 x 13.2	Period IIB
157	Baltimore (WAG 48.1464). Obverse impression on envelope Canby 1975: Figs. 1, 3	Period IIA
158	**Kültepe** impression on envelope Özgüç 1968: Pl. XVD	Period IIA
159	Louvre A 928. Haematite 20 x 8 Delaporte 1923: Pl. 96, Fig. 25; Schroer 1989: Fig. 04	Period IIB
160*	Seyrig 23. Haematite 23 x 13	Period IIA
161	Louvre A 922. Haematite 25 x 10 Delaporte 1923: Pl. 96, Fig. 19; Safadi 1974: Abb. 146; Demisch 1977: Fig. 118	Period IIB
162	Brett. Haematite 24 x 13 Von der Osten 1936: no. 86	Period IIB
163	Marcopoli. Haematite, lower edge missing 23 x 10 Teissier 1984: no. 502	Period IIB
164*	BM 126333. Haematite, chipped 28 x 10	Period IIB
165*	Rosen 04702. Haematite 25.2 x 11	Period IIA
166	Seyrig 15. Haematite 23 x 10 Seyrig 1955: Pl. IV: no. 2; Safadi 1974: Fig. 27; Collon 1987: no. 710	Period IIB
167	**Alalakh** impressions on envelopes *c.* 11 diameter Collon 1975: no. 140; Keel 1989a: no. 44	Period IIB
168	**Napata, Nubia.** Haematite 26 x 13 Buchanan 1966: no. 869; Hogarth 1922: Pl. XXV: no. 19	Period IIA
169	BN. Haematite 27 x 11 Delaporte 1910: no. 496; Ward 1910: no. 861; Amiet 1973: no. 381; Safadi 1974: Fig. 177; Collon 1987: no. 215	Period IIB
170	Aulock. Haematite, chipped 21 x 10 Von der Osten 1957: no. 298	Period IIA
171	Damascus 63. Haematite 21 x 12 Kühne 1980: no. 36	Period IIA
172*	BM 89336. Haematite 22 x 12 Ward 1910: no. 933	Period IIA
173	**Alalakh** impression on envelopes *c.* 18 (with caps) x 7 Safadi 1974: Fig.4; Collon 1975: no. 165	Period IIB
174	De Clercq. Haematite 16 x 8 De Clerq and Menant 1888: no. 292; Collon 1985: no. 21; Keel 1989a: no. 39	Period IIA
175	**Alalakh** impression on envelope *c.* 23 x 15 Safadi 1974: Fig. 132; Collon 1975: no. 3	Period IIB
176*	Rosen 04293. Haematite 21 x 9.9	Period IIA
177	BN. Haematite, chipped 26 x 14 Delaporte 1910: no. 461; Ward 1910: no. 865	Period IIA
178	Ex Borowski collection (LBAF). Haematite, chipped 26 x 14 Williams-Forte 1981: no. 213; Collon 1985: no. 6	Period IIA
179	Marcopoli. Haematite, chipped 19 x 12 Teissier 1984: no. 514	Period IIA
180	Ashmolean Museum. Haematite 23 x 10 Buchanan 1966: no. 900; Hogarth 1922: Pl. XXXIV: no. 15	Period IIA
181	**Chagar Bazar** A 357 Aleppo. Haematite 23 x 10 Mallowan 1937a: 97, 111, 136–7; Schaeffer 1974: Pl. XXXVIIIa and b; Collon 1985: no. 7	Period IIA
182	**Ras Shamra** 3.411 Louvre AO 14.812 Haematite 22 x 10 Schaeffer 1931: 377; *idem* Pl. XI–Ic; Hennequin 1936: Fig. 320c; Bossert 1951: Fig. 831b; Schaeffer-Forrer 1983:14-15; Amiet 1992b: no. 32	Period IIA
183*	Seyrig 175. Haematite 20 x 18	Period IIA
184	**Tell Mardikh (Ebla)** impressions on jar fragment 79 x 25 Matthiae 1969: Pl. nos.1-2; Pl. II: no. 1; *idem* 1984: Figs. 99–100; *idem* 1985: Pl. 87; *idem* 1989: Figs. 162–3; Collon 1987: no. 545	Period III

185	**Alalakh** impression on tablets and jar stoppers *c.* 2.4 (with caps) x 10 Woolley 1955: Pls. LXIII-LXIV: nos. 64, 77; Sidney-Smith 1939: Pl. XVIII: Figs. 3, 5; Collon 1975: no. 11; Amiet 1972: Fig. 4	Period IIB
186	Moore. Haematite 24 x 12 Dossin 1938: 117; Eisen 1940: no. 103; Williams-Forte 1976: no. 11; Dalley 1984: Fig. 23	Period IIA
187	BM 129581. Haematite 24.5 x 11	Period IIB
188	Pierpont Morgan Library. Haematite, chipped 29.5 x 15 Ward 1910: no. 858; Porada 1948: no. 910e; Safadi 1974: Fig. 78; Collon 1982a: Fig. 3f; *eadem* 1985: no. 15; *eadem* 1987: no. 209	Period IIA
189	BN. Haematite 24 x 10 Delaporte 1910: no. 435; Frankfort 1939: Pl. XLIIi; Safadi 1974: Fig. 107; Collon 1982: Fig. 1 no. 2; *eadem* 1987: no. 219; Keel 1989b: no. 20	Period IIA
190	**Karahüyük.** Haematite 20 x 11 Alp 1968: Pl. II: no. 22	Period IIA
191	Aulock. Haematite 16 x 8 Von der Osten 1957: no. 307; Collon 1985: no. 2	Period IIA
192	BM. 129580 Haematite 28 x 11 Carnegie 1908: Qd 5; Frankfort 1936: Pl. XLIIk; Collon 1982a: Fig. 2: no. 21; *eadem* 1987: no. 220	Period IIB
193	Montreal (MFA). 'Siliceous limonite' 21 x 10 Meek 1943: 43 no. 4	Period IIB
194	Marcopoli. Haematite, chipped 12 x 8 Teissier 1984: no. 469	Period IIA
195*	Seyrig 13. Haematite, chipped 26 x 9.5	Period IIA
196	Danish National Museum. Haematite 28 x 14 Ravn 1960: no. 127; Buhl 1982: Fig. 1	Period IIA
197	Ashmolean Museum. Haematite, chipped 21 x 10 Buchanan 1966: no. 889	Period IIA
198	**Kültepe** impression on envelope Özgüç 1968: Pl. XIIIc; Schroer 1989: Fig. 0169	Period IIA
199	**Tell Mardikh (Ebla)** impression on jar fragment Matthiae 1969: Pl. II: no. 3; *idem* Pl. 88	Period IIB
200	Ashmolean Museum Haematite 26 x 10 Hogarth 1920: no. 182; Frankfort 1936: Pl. XLIVn; Buchanan 1966: no. 871; Safadi 1974: Fig. 156; Mazzoni 1986: Pl. IV: no. 5; Collon 1987: no. 770; Schroer 1989: Fig. 0173	Period IIB
201	**Açemhüyük** impression on bulla Özgüç 1977: Pl. V no. 13; *eadem* 1980: Fig. III-14	Period IIA
202	**East Karnak** SF K7 1981. Haematite 27 x? Porada 1983b: Pl. XXXIV; Schroer 1989: Fig. 0176	Period IIA
203*	Rosen 02039. Haematite 16.2 x 9.5	Period IIB
204	**Alalakh** impression on envelope Safadi 1974: Fig. 145; Collon 1975: no. 106; Schroer 1989: Fig. 0171	Priod IIB
205	De Clercq. Haematite, lower half missing 12 x 8 De Clercq and Menant 1888: no. 281 *bis*; Safadi 1974: no. 150; Schroer 1989: Fig. 0174	Period IIB
206	Louvre A 937. Haematite, chipped, recut? 25 x 12 Delaporte 1923: Pl. 97: Fig. 9; Porada 1983: Pl. XXXVa; Schroer 1989: Fig. 0175	Period IIB
207	**Ras Shamra** 9.889. Louvre AO 19424. Haematite 24.5 x 11 Safadi 1974: no. 108; Collon 1982a: Fig. 1: no. 1; Schaeffer-Forrer 1983: 35: no. 9.889; Collon 1987: no. 218; Keel 1989b: no. 19; Amiet 1992b: no. 41	Period IIA
208	**Bogazköy** Haematite, chipped 21.8 x 12.5 Beran 1964: Pl. 8: no 4; Safadi 1974: Fig. 80	Period IIA
209	**Alalakh** impressionon Collon 1975: no. 146	Period IIB
210	**Alalakh** impression Collon 1975: no. 145	Period IIB
211	Present whereabouts unknown 29 x ? Collon 1987: no. 544	Period IIB

212	BN. Haematite 19 x 10 Delaporte 1910: no. 460; Ward 1910: no. 839	Period IIA
213	Brussels (MRAH) 1382. Haematite 20 x 11 Speleers 1943: 159: no. 1382	Period IIA
214	Ashmolean Museum. Haematite 16 x 8 Buchanan 1966: no. 888; Collon 1986: no. 3; Keel 1989a: no. 42	Period IIA
215	**Alalakh** impression Collon 1975: no. 146	Period IIB
216*	BM 89532. Haematite 22 x 13	Period IIA
217	Seyrig 146. Jasper 15 x 7 Ward 1965: Pl. V: no. 1; Collon 1986a: no. 2; Keel 1989a: no. 2; Teissier 1990: Fig. 2	Period IIB
218	Louvre A 906. Haematite, chipped 21 x 12 Delaporte 1923: Pl. 96: no. 3; Collon 1986a: no.11; Keel 1989a: no. 11.	Period III
219	BN. Green jasper 15 x 9 Delaporte 1910: no. 485; Collon 1986a: no. 13; Keel 1989a: Fig. 13	Period III
220	**Tell el-Ajjul.** Haematite 18 x 8 Petrie 1933: Pl. III: no. 37; Rowe 1936: Pl. XXVI: S7; Parker 1949: no. 18; Ward 1965: Pl. V: 6; Collon 1986a: no. 7; Keel 1989a: no. 7	Period III
221	**Tell el-Ajjul.** Steatite 21 x 10 Petrie 1933: Pl. VIII: no. 6; Rowe 1936: Pl. XXVII: S59; Parker 1949: no. 28; Collon 1986a: no. 8; Keel 1989a: no. 8; *idem* 1989b: no. 61	Period III
222	Marcopoli. Haematite 17 x 8 Teissier 1984: no. 526	Period IIA
223	**Alalakh** impression on envelope Collon 1975: no. 111	Period IIB
224	**Alalakh** impression on envelope Collon 1975: no. 85	Period IIB
225	**Alalakh** impression on jar Collon 1975: no. 82	Period IIB
226	**Tell Beit Mirsim.** Haematite 19.5 x 10 Rowe 1936: Pl. XXVI: S11; Frankfort 1939: Pl. XLIp; Parker 1949: no. 20; Ward 1965: Pl.V: no. 2; Albright 1982: Fig. 3; Collon 1986a: no. 3; *eadem* 1987: no. 203; Keel 1989a: no. 3	Period IIB
227	Marcopoli. 'Chert' (more probably jasper) 20 x 13 Teissier 1984: no. 568; Collon 1987: no. 897	Period IIB
228	**Alalakh** impression on envelope Collon 1975: no. 164	Period IIB
229	**Megiddo.** No dimensions or material given. Parker 1949: no. 12	Period IIB
230	BM 116145. Haematite 25 x 9.5	Period IIB
231*	Seyrig 111. Haematite 15 x ?	Period IIB
232*	Seyrig 41. Haematite 20 x ?	Period IIB
233	**Alalakh** impression on envelope Safadi 1974: no. 180; Collon 1975: no. 161; Collon 1986a: no. 15	Period IIB
234*	Rosen 07001 Haematite 23.2 x 18	Period IIA
235	Marcopoli. Haematite 24 x 12 Teissier 1984: no. 456	Period IIA
236	**Kition.** 'Black stone' 24.7 x 13.8 Kenna and Karageorghis 1967: Figs. 1–4; Porada 1974: Pl. XCII: Fig. 1; Collon 1986a: no. 6; Keel 1989a: no. 6	Period III
237	Louvre A 912. Haematite, broken 21 x 9 Delaporte 1923: Pl. 96: no. 9; Safadi 1974: no. 125	Period IIB
238	De Clercq. Jasper 28 x 12 De Clercq and Menant 1888: no. 387	Period III
239*	BM 134854. 'Steatite' 27 x 11	Period IIB
240	Yale (Newell). Haematite 14 x 7.5 Von der Osten 1934: no. 319; Frankfort 1939: Pl. XLIVq; Buchanan 1981: no. 1204; Keel 1989b: no. 103	Period IIA

241* Seyrig 108. Haematite, chipped 19 x 11 — Period IIA

242 **Jericho.** Haematite, chipped 20.4 x 11.2 — Period IIA
Porada 1983a: Pl. 38d: Fig. 354

243 Pierpont Morgan Library. Haematite 27 x 14 — Period IIA
Porada 1948: no. 989; Keel 1989d: no. 55

244 Baltimore (WAG). Haematite 22 x 12 — Period IIA
Gordon 1939: no. 42.408; Safadi 1974: Fig. 77; Keel 1989b: no. 62

245* BM 103325. Haematite 17 x 9 — Period IIA

246* Seyrig 43. Haematite 17 x 12 — Period IIA
Opificius 1969: Pl. III: no. 15; Amiet 1992: Pl. 26: 2

247 Marcopoli. Haematite 22 x 13 — Period IIA
Teissier 1984: no. 442; *eadem* 1987: 62, no. 442; Collon 1987: no. 541

248 Brussels (MRAH). Haematite 23 x 10 — Period IIB
Speleers 1943: 143, no.1484

249 Marcopoli. Haematite 25 x 11 — Period IIB
Teissier 1984: no. 455

250 De Clercq. Haematite 28 x 13 — Period IIB
De Clercq and Menant 1888: no. 395; Amiet 1973: no. 357; Safadi 1974: Fig. 154;
Mazzoni 1986: Pl. IV: no. 7

251 **Alalakh** impression on envelope *c.* 18 x 10 — Period IIB
Collon 1975: no. 60

252 **Alalakh** impression on envelope fragments *c.* 22 x 13 — Period IIB
Collon 1975: no. 5

253 **Alalakh** impression on envelope fragments *c.* 27.5 x 13 — Period IIB
Woolley 1955: Pl. LX: no. 12A; Pl. LXVII: no. 145; Safadi 1974: Fig. 141; Collon 1975: no. 6

254 Louvre AO 1896. Haematite 27 x 14 — Period IIA
Delaporte 1923: A 937; Frankfort 1939: Pl. XLIc; Safadi 1974: Fig. 4

255 Marcopoli. Haematite 20.5 x 10 — Period IIA
Teissier 1984: no. 445

256* Rosen 07004. Haematite 20.5 x 11 — Period IIB

257 Berlin (VA). Haematite 19 x 10 — Period IIA
Moortgat 1940: no. 538

258* Seyrig 36. Haematite 20 x 11 — Period IIA

259 Pierpont Morgan Library. Haematite, chipped 21 x 12 — Period IIB
Porada 1948: no. 983

260* BM 129584. Haematite 18 x 10 — Period IIA
Keel 1989b: no. 64

261 Moore. 'Magnetite' 15 x 7 — Period IIA
Eisen 1940: no. 155; Williams-Forte 1976: no. 57

262* Rosen 03131. Haematite 17.7 x 12 — Period IIA

263 Aleppo M 1021. Steatite 20 x 10 — Period IIA
Hammade 1987: no. 158

264 Yale (Newell). Haematite, chipped, cracked in centre 28 x 6 — Period IIB
Buchanan 1981: no. 1248; von der Osten 1934: no. 311

265* BM 123283. Haematite — Period IIA
Smith 1933–4: Pl. IXf

266 Institut Biblique, Fribourg 298. Haematite 20.6 x 10.2 — Period IIB
Mode 1950: Pl. II: no. 12

267 **Tell el Ajjul.** Haematite 18 x 9.5 — Period IIA
Petrie 1931: Pl. IV: no. 136; Collon 1985: no. 1

268 BN. Haematite 16 x 9 — Period IIA
Delaporte 1910: no. 467; Ward 1910: no. 949

In typology only:

Al. 137, 139, 141, 142, 143, 150, 152 — Period IIB
Alalakh impressions on envelopes and fragments: Collon 1975: nos. 137, 139, 141–3, 150, 152

2 OTHER EXAMPLES OF EGYPTIANISING SEALS

Egyptianizing females (unwinged).

(I) In the Hathor crown ?: CANES 933 (II) in a wig: Pittman 1987: 50; Delaporte 1923: A 925; Delaporte 1910: 488; Erlenmeyer 1961: Fig. 50 (III) Egyptianising form: Collon 1975: no. 151.

Child with a hair lock.

Pittman 1987: 57; Metropolitan X. 304.19; Yale YBC 16634.

Sphinxes with Hathor crown: Leyden Ryksmuseum: B1952/72.

Hawks.

(I) Frontal in sky or terminal: CANES 976e; Parker 1949: 14; Delaporte 1910: 489; Buchanan 1981: 1219; Hammade 1987: 152, 196; Marcopoli :490; Berlin 533; de Clercq and Menant 1888: 297; Ward 1910: 853.

(II) In profile: Buchanan 1981: 1210, 1211; CANES 965, 986; Aulock: 295, 304; de Clercq and Menant 1888: 399; Delaporte 1910: 715 (on *ankh*).

(III) In profile, with crowns: CANES 976e (red?); CANES 989 (*atef*); Hammade 1987: 145 (Double).

(iv) In profile with spread wings: Buchanan 1981: 1217; Metropolitan 63.1.104; Boston 93.353; Delaporte 1910: 451.

Vulture.

(I) Frontal in sky or terminal: CANES 914, 937e, 946e; Marcopoli: 498, 514; Buchanan 1981: 1229; Eisen 150; Moortgat 1940: 545; Delaporte 1910: 789; 1923: A.946; AO 10.858.

Winged sun disc.

De Clerq and Menant 1888: 289; ed. Carnegie (Southesk): Qd 5; Delaporte 1910: 488, 494, 495; Buchanan 1981: 1210, 1211, 1222, 1231; Aulock 290; Eisen 153, 168; CANES: 941e, 949, 955; Gordon 1939: 48, 55; Hammade 1987: 156; Berlin: 535; Marcopoli: 462; 469, 500; Mode 1960: Abb. 4; Erlenmeyer 1961: Abb. 50; Marcopoli: 462, 469, 500; Collon 1975: nos. 25, 31, 52, 53, 104, 138 (Alalakh); 1987: 647; Vollenweider 1967: 140; Seyrig: 6.; BM 134851; Sotheby Sales Catalogue, July 10 (Schuster Collection): 42.

Hathor head. Sotheby's Sales catalogue, July 10 (Schuster Collection): 42.

Ankhs.

(I) In the field: Lajard 1847: Pl. XXXV: 4; XXXVI: 8; LXII: 4; de Clercq and Menant 1888: 391, 398; Ward 1910: 894; Delaporte 1910: 487, 488, 494, 495, 497; 1923: A 904, A 919; Walters 1926: 112, 113; Gordon 1939: 38, 44, 47, 144; Buchanan 1966: 868, 972, 897(E); 1981: 1189, 1211, 1270, 1271, 1272; Moorey and Gurney 1978: 58; CANES: 915, 946, 951, 956, 959e, 965, 968, 969e, 994; Marcopoli: 479–84, 487; 504, 508–10; Suleiman 1984: 6; Porada 1975–6; Hammade 1987: 173; Pittman 1987: 59; Bleibtrau 1981: 78; Kühne 1980: 39; Berlin: 523, 533, 545; Schaeffer-Forrer 1983: Chypre A 13, R.S.9.021, 28.025; Vollenweider 1967: 137, 249; Collon 1975: nos. 30, 41, 76, 77, 82, 86, 122, 138; 1982b: 20.

(II) Held by Egyptianising figures: Delaporte 1923: A 925; CANES: 933.

(III) Held in the air: Pittman 1987: 56.

(IV) Held by a figure from 'nature' mythology: Hammade 1987: 172.

Floral motifs.

(I) Staves held by rulers: Eisen 153.

(II) " " bull-men: Buchanan 1981: 1239.

(III) " " a demon: Gese 1965 (Collon 1987: 212).

Lapwing. Tunça 1979: 23; Speleers 1943: 0.1454; Collon 1982: 22?.

Embracing postures. Buchanan 1981: 1264, 1269; Yale RBC 1024; Speleers 1943: 0.1448.

'Isis-Nephthys' type wings.

(I) Humans: CANES: 991, 1001; Delaporte 1923: A. 898, A. 899.

(II) Demons: Speleers 1943: 0.1476; CANES: 979; Moore 144; BM 102676.

Demons with Egyptianizing attributes.

(I) With Ram's Horns crowns: Yale 1184; Parker 1949: 15 (Megiddo); Bleibtreu 1981: 82; Delaporte 1923: Pl. 96: 16.

3 ILLUSTRATIONS

Numbers 1-268: drawings of cylinder seals and motifs from cylinder seals listed in Appendix B (Seals Register).
The drawings are not to scale: dimensions of seals are given in Appendix B.
Al. followed by a number refers to Alalakh seal impressions from Collon 1975.
The drawing of the hieroglyphs on seal 77 is by M. Cox.
Photographs are of mostly unpublished seals from the British Museum, Seyrig and Rosen collections.

1a Mentuhotpe crowned by Montu and Tanent, relief: from Bisson de la Roque 1937: Pl. XV (Tod, MK). Drawing M. Cox.
1b Pharaoh lustrated by Amun-Re and Re, pectoral (reverse) from: Vernier 1927: no. 52004. Drawing M. Cox.
1c Seth and Horus 'purifying' Seti I, relief: from Moret 1902: Pl. II (Karnak, NK).
1d The child Pharaoh with the Hathor cow, pectoral: from Chéhab 1937: Pl. I (MK). Drawing M. Cox.
1e Hunting scene, painting: from Newberry 1893: Pl. XXX (Beni Hasan, MK).
1f Mentuhotpe offering a lotus to Hathor, relief: from Habachi 1963: Fig. 7 (Denderah, MK).
1g Hathor holding out an *ankh* to Mentuhotpe and holding his hand, relief: from Habachi 1963: Fig. 7 (Denderah, MK).
1h The Pharaoh smiting an Asiatic, relief: from Swann-Hall 1986: Fig. 23 (Gebelein, MK).
1i Winged Isis and Nephtys, mummy: from Schmidt 1919: Fig. 957 (Late Period).
1j Horus and Seth binding the Two Lands, throne: from Lange and Hirmer 1967: Pl. 5 (Lisht, MK). Drawing M. Cox.
1k Kneeling hawk-headed ancestors, papyrus: from Wilkinson and Hill 1983: 140 no. 30.4.31 (NK).
1l Seated family, limestone funerary stela: from Bourriau 1988: Fig. 50 (Qau el Qebir, MK). Drawing M. Cox.
1m Hawk-headed figure holding plant, scarab: from Keel 1989b: no. 48 (Lachish, MBA).
1n Male figure facing hawk-headed figure, scarab: from Keel 1989b: no. 8 (MBA).
1o Sesostris III between Chnum and Montu, stela: from Petersen 1968: 63. Drawing M. Cox.
1p Prince Amenhotep and his *ka* (fashioned by Chnum), relief: from Lurker 1980: 74 (Elephantine, NK). Drawing M. Cox.
1q Asiatics with their children, painting: from N. de G. Davies 1933: Pl. IV (NK).
1r Lion-demon, figurine: from Bourriau 1988: Fig. 99 (Esna, MK). Drawing M. Cox.
1s Sphinx of Sesostris III: from Demisch 1977: Fig. 31 Drawing M. Cox.
1t Sphinx in solar crown treading on snakes, detail on solar barque: from Na. de G. Davies 1926: Pl. 31 (NK).
1u The sphinx Tutu treading on snakes and with a snake-like tail, from Sauneron 1960: Pl. XII (Late Period).
1v Sphinx with snake, scarab: from Tufnell 1984: Pl. XLI: no. 2673 (Ajjul, MBA).
1w Couchant sphinxes flanking a Hathor symbol, stela: from Gardiner, Peet and Černý 1955: Pl. LXII: 202 (Sinai, NK).
1x Aker, papyrus: from Lurker 1980: 24 (Book of the Dead, Ani, N.K). Drawing M. Cox.
1y Sphinxes with erect wings standing on either side of a tree, shrine: from Demisch 1977: Fig. 61 (NK).
1z Ram-headed sphinx: from Demisch 1977: Fig. 36 (Karnak, NK). Drawing M. Cox.
2a Two opposing griffins trampling on enemies, pectoral: from Wilkinson 1971: Pl. XVII B (Dahshur, MK). Drawing M. Cox.
2b Running griffin, box: from Montet 1935: Fig. 155 (NK).
2c Frontal hawk wearing a solar disc and holding *shens* and *ankhs*, pendant: from Aldred 1971: no. 179 (NK). Drawing M. Cox.
2d The hawk as the setting sun worshipped by baboons and other figures, papyrus: from Baines and Malek 1980: 216 (Book of the Dead, NK). Drawing M. Cox.
2e Cartouche of Sesostris II between two Horus hawks, pectoral: from Vernier 1927: no. 52.001. Drawing M. Cox.
2f Solar ram-headed bird holding *shens*, mummy: from Mysliwiec 1978: Fig. 31 (Late Period).
2g Horus and Nekhbet holding *ankh*s above the Pharaoh's head, relief: from Lacau and Chevrier 1956: Pl. 40 (Karnak. MK).
2h Cobra in the White crown wrapped around a floral staff, relief: from David 1981: U.R. 2 (Abydos, NK).
2i Figure using a ritual adze, painting: from Wilkinson and Hill 1983: Fig. 64 (Deir el Medina, NK).
2j Winged sun disc above scenes with the Pharaoh, stela: from Naville 1907: Pl. XXIV (Deir el Bahari, MK).
2k Qeen Nefret wearing the Hathor wig: from Stepehenson-Smith 1981: Fig. 173 (MK). Drawing M. Cox.
2l Winged sun disc with pendant arms, relief: from Radwan 1975: 222, Dok. 18 (NK).
2m Feral cat and *sa* symbol on apotropaic wand: from Bourriau 1988: Fig. 104 (MK).
2n Winged sun disc and cartouches above the Pharaoh, relief: from Radwan 1985: Fig. 7 (MK).
2o Two figures holding a plant between them, scarab: from Tufnell 1984: no. 2784 (Ajjul, MBA).
2p Stylized (metalwork) tree, painting: from Stevenson-Smith 1965: Fig. 50 (NK).
2q Drooping flower motif, scarab: from Ward 1978: Pl. VII no. 190 (First Intermediate period).
2r Scroll pattern, scarab: from Ward 1978: Pl. X: no. 264 (Montet Jar).
2s Floral decoration, faience vessel: from Hayes 1953: Fig. 156 (MK).
2t Lapwing with raised wings: from Houlihan 1986: Fig. 134 (NK).
2u Monkeys climbing trees, painting: from Vandier 1966b: Fig. 54 (NK).
2v Kneeling figure holding a lotus, scarab: from Tufnell 1984: Pl. XLVI: no. 2814 (Ajjul, MBA).
2w Standing figure holding a lotus, stela: from Stewart 1979: Pl. 26: 1 (MK).
2x Standing figure holding a plant, scarab: from Tufnell 1984: Pl. XLII: no. 2689 (Jericho, MBA).
2y Standing offering bearers, coffin: from Schimdt 1919: Fig. 295 (MK).
2z Egyptian carry-chair, painting: from Vandier 1964: Fig. 164, VIII (OK).
3a Hathor with a *menat* and a *was* sceptre holding out an *ankh* to the Pharaoh, stela: from Gardiner, Peet and Černý 1955: Pl. XVIII: Fig. 56 (Sinai, MK).
3b Mentuhotpe embraced by Hathor and Wadjet or Isis, relief: from Arnold 1974: Pl. 28 (Deir el Bahari, MK).
3c White crown: from Gardiner 1978: Sign List S1.

3d Red crown (*ibid.*: S3).
3e Double crown (*ibid.*: S5).
3f Blue crown (*ibid.*: S7).
3g Triple crown: from Lepsius 1849: III Pl. 179.
3h *Atef* crown: from Gardiner 1978: Sign List S8.
3i Double Plumes (*ibid.*: S9).
3j *ḥqꜣt* scepter (*ibid.*: S38).
3k *nḫḫw* flail (*ibid.*: S45).
3l *was* sceptre (*ibid.*: S40).
3m *sḫm* sceptre (*ibid.*: S42).
3n *ḥd* mace (*ibid.*: T3).
3o *ʿwt* crook (*ibid.*: S39).
3p *mdꜣw* staff (*ibid.*: S43).
3q *ḫpš* scimitar (*ibid.*: T16).
3r The Pharaoh, Sesostris I, relief: from Lacau and Chevrier 1969: no. 9 (Karnak, MK).
3s Horus holding jubilee staves, relief: from Arnold 1974: Fig. 10 (Deir el Bahari, MK).
3t Re-Harakhte, relief: from David 1981: 64, Episode 8 (Abydos, NK).
3u Montu, relief: from Hart 1986: 127 (MK).
3v The ram of Amun, relief: from Hart 1986: 4: 2 (Abydos, NK).
3w Khnum, stela: from Lepsius 1849/II: Pl. 119 (Begig, MK).
3x Seth holding the jubilee staves, relief: from Arnold 1974: Fig. 10 (Deir el Bahari, MK).
3y Lion-headed god in *atef* crown, statuette: from Daressy 1905: Pl. XXXII: 38 (NK). Drawing M. Cox.
4a Hathor holding a *was* sceptre, relief: from Arnold 1974: Pl. 18 (Deir el Bahari, MK).
4b Hathor in a Ram and Cow Horns and Disc crown, relief: from Montet 1964: Fig. 4e (NK).
4c Hathor in floral crown, relief: from Mahmud 1978: Pl. XVII (Memphis, NK).
4d Isis with a sun disc and uraeus head-dress, stela: from Lambert and Hall 1922: Pl. 28 (IInd Intermediate period).
4e Goddess in the Vulture head-dress, relief: from Mond 1940: Pl. XCVI (Armant, MK).
4f Goddess in a wig holding a *was* sceptre and an *ankh*, relief: from Arnold 1974: Fig. 10 (Deir el Bahari, MK).
4g Lioness-goddess Bastet holding a *wꜣḏ* sceptre, relief: from Mond 1940: Pl. XCVIII: no. 7 (Armant, MK).
4h Male child with its father in a boating scene, painting: from Moussa and Altenmüller 1977: Fig. 5 (OK).
4i Asiatics with child, painting: from N. de G. Davies 1930: Pl. XXIII.
4j Lion-demon figurine, from Bourriau 1988: Fig. 98 (MK). Drawing M. Cox.
4k Hawk, from Gardiner 1978: Sign List G5.
4l Horus in the Double crown, stela: from Lepsius 1849/II: Pl. 119 (Begig, MK).
4m Hovering vulture holding a *shen* in her talons, relief: from Lacau and Chevrier 1956: Pl. 22 (Karnak, MK).
4n Vulture, from Gardiner 1978: Sign List G14.
4o Two cobras in solar discs draped over a cartouche, clasp: from Aldred 1978: Fig. 75 (NK). Drawing M. Cox.
4p Cobra in the Hathor crown, stela: from Gardiner, Peet and Černý 1955: Pl. LXVII: 202 (Sinai, NK).
4q Winged sun disc with hanging uraei, relief: from Arnold 1974: Fig. 28, no. 4985 (Deir el Bahari, MK).
4r Winged sun disc with central uraei, stela: from Gardiner, Peet and Černý 1955: Pl. XLII: no. 120 (Sinai, MK).
4s Hathor pillar: from Desroches-Noblecourt 1968: Fig. 32 (NK).
4t *Ankh* from Aldred 1978: 11.
4u Decorated *ankh:* from Habachi 1963: Fig. 19.
4v Penis sheath: from Baines 1974: Fig. 4.
4w Rare *ankh* form: from Baines 1975: 11.
4x *Sa* from Aldred 1978: 11.
4y Loop: from Gardiner 1978: Sign List V17.
4z *Shen*: from Hart 1986: 101.
5a Cartouche from Gardiner 1978: Sign List V10.
5b *Tjet*: from Aldred 1978: 11.
5c *Djed*: from Aldred 1978: 11.
5d Two groups of *was*, *djed* and *tet*: from Arnold 1974: Fig. 10 (MK).
5e *Wḏꜣt* eye on apotropaic wand: from Hayes 1953: Fig. 143 (MK).
5f Lotus on *shen*: from Mond 1940: Pl. I.
5g Head on standard: from Habachi 1963: Fig. 15 (MK).
5h Ritual adze: from Gardiner 1978: Sign List: V17.
5i Lotus buds and flowers: from Moens 1984: Pl. VIII: 2.1.1.2.
5j Mixed bouquet: from Dittmar 1986: Fig. 85.
5k Papyrus plant from: Moens 1984: Pl. VIII: 2.1.1.3.
5l Clump of papyrus: from Dittmar 1986: Fig. 5.
5m Hanging bud and floral motif, scarab: from Tufnell 1984: no. 1101 (Ajjul, MBA).
5n Scroll pattern, scarab: from Tufnell 1984: Pl. XXVIII: no. 2250 (Ajjul, MBA).
5o Heron: from Wilkinson and Hill 1983: 144: 30.4.143 (NK).
5p Lapwing: from Houlihan 1986: Fig. 136 (NK).
5q Seated monkey, painting: from Vandier 1965b: Fig. 3 (MK).
5r Seated female, funerary stela: from Bourriau 1988: no. 39 (Abydos, MK).

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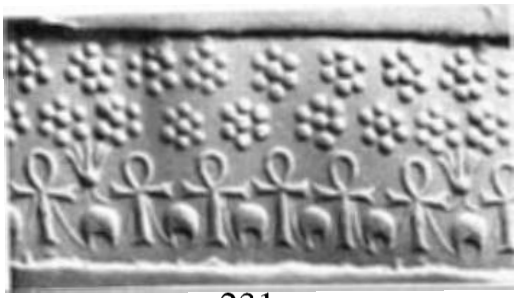

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Summary

This book seeks to contribute to the history of Syria-Levant in the Middle Bronze Age by assessing Egyptian «influence» and Syro-Levantine perceptions of Egypt through an analysis of the use of Egyptian imagery in Syro-Levantine cylinder seal iconography. This includes an evaluation of the nature and composition of Syrian glyptic as a whole. The book concludes that Egyptian imagery, although inspirational, owed nothing to Egyptian political or religious influence in Syria. Rather, this imagery was assimilated coherently into an integral Syrian glyptic repertoire, which was an expression of the political stability and cultural autonomy of Syria in the Middle Bronze Age. The smaller cylinder seal evidence from the Lebanon and Palestine also reflects these regions' political and cultural status quo: strong Egyptian influence in the Lebanon and an ambivalent situation in Palestine.

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